

MUSEUM.

NAPOLÉON'S MEMOIRS.

General Gourgaud, one of the companions of Napoleon Bonaparte, in his exile at St. Helena, has published the first volume of "Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon, dictated by the Emperor, and printed from the original manuscripts corrected by him (the Emperor)." As this work is not likely to be republished in the United States, we insert here the chapter of the 1st volume, that furnishes Napoleon's account of the famous revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799), which made him First Consul.

The Eighteenth of Brumaire.

WHEN lamentable weakness and endless versatility are manifested in the councils of a government, when an administration, yielding by turns to the influence of every opposing party, and going on from day to day without any fixed plan or determined system, has shown its utter insufficiency, and when the most moderate citizens in the state are obliged to confess that it is without a government; when rulers, insignificant at home, having shamefully brought on their country the contempt of foreigners—the greatest of injuries in the eyes of a proud people; a vague uneasiness spreads throughout society; agitated by the instinct of self-preservation, it looks into its own resources, and seeks for some one able to save it from destruction.

A populous nation always possesses this tutelary genius in its own bosom, though he may sometimes be tardy in appearing. It is not indeed sufficient for him to exist, he must be known to others, and he must know himself. Until then all endeavours are vain, all schemes ineffectual. The inertness of the multitude is the protection of the nominal government, and in spite of its inexperience and weakness, the efforts of its enemies cannot prevail against it. But let this deliverer, so impatiently expected, suddenly give a proof of his existence, and the nation instinctively acknowledges and calls on him; all obstacles vanish at his approach, and a great people thronging round his steps, seems exultingly to proclaim "This is the man."

Such was the state of the public mind in France in the year 1799, when, on the 9th of October (16th of Vendémiaire, year VIII.), the frigates *La Muiron* and *La Carrère*, and the zebecks *La Revanche* and *La Fortune*, cast anchor, at the break of day, in the gulf of Frejus.

No sooner were the French frigates recognised, than it was conjectured they came from Egypt. The people ran in crowds to the shore, eager for news from the army. It was soon understood that Napoleon was on board; and such was the enthusiasm among the people, that even the wounded soldiers got out of the hospitals, in spite of the guards, and went to the shore. The spectators wept with joy. In a moment the sea was covered with boats. The officers belonging to the fortifications and the customs, the crews of the ships that were anchored in the road, in short, every body thronged about the frigates. General Pereymont, who commanded on the coast, was the first to go on board. Thus they were enabled to enter, without

waiting for the officers of quarantine; for the communication with the shore had been general.

Italy had just been lost; war was about to be recommenced on the Var, and Frejus dreaded an invasion as soon as hostilities should begin. The necessity of having a leader at the head of affairs was too imperious; every one was too much agitated by the sudden appearance of Napoleon at this juncture, for ordinary considerations to have any weight. The officers of quarantine declared that there was no occasion for subjecting these vessels to it, and grounded their report on the circumstance that communication had taken place at Ajaccio. This argument, however, far from being tenable, only went to prove that Corsica itself ought to have been put under quarantine. The administration at Marseilles made this observation a fortnight afterwards, and with reason. It is true, that during the fifty days which had elapsed from the vessels leaving Egypt, there had been no sickness on board any of them, and indeed the plague had ceased three months before their departure. At six o'clock that evening, Napoleon, accompanied by Berthier, set off in a coach for Paris.

The fatigue of his passage, and the effect of a transition from a dry climate to a moist one, determined Napoleon to stop six hours at Aix. The inhabitants of the city, and of the neighbouring villages, came in crowds to testify their happiness at seeing him again. The joy was universal. Those who lived too far in the country to present themselves on the road in time, rang the bells, and hoisted flags upon the steeples, which at night blazed with illuminations.

It was not like the return of a citizen to his country, or a general at the head of a victorious army, but like the triumph of a sovereign restored to his people. The enthusiasm of Avignon, Montelimart, Valence, and Vienna, was only surpassed by the rapture of Lyons. That city, in which Napoleon rested for twelve hours, was in an universal delirium. The Lyonese had at all times shown great attachment to Napoleon, either from the natural generosity of character by which they are distinguished—or that, considering their city as the capital of the south, they felt peculiarly interested in all that concerned the security of the frontiers on the Italian side—or that the population of Lyons being composed chiefly of natives of Burgundy and Dauphiny, shared the sentiments most prevalent in these provinces. Their imaginations were, moreover, still in a state of exultation at that time, from the accounts which had been spread eight days before of the battle of Aboukir, and the brilliant success of the French arms in Egypt, which formed such a striking contrast to the defeat of their armies in Germany and Italy. "We are numerous, we are brave," the people seemed every where to say, "and yet we are conquered. We want a leader to direct us:—we now behold him, and our glory will once more shine forth." In the mean time the news of Napoleon's return had reached Paris. It was announced at the theatres, and caused an universal sensation—a general delirium, of which the members of the Directory partook. Some of the *Société du Manège** trem-

* The *Société du Manège* was the remnant of that most powerful of all political sects, known throughout Europe, at the beginning of the French Revolution by the name of the "Jacobins." It originated in 1789, under the denomination of the "Breton Club," in consequence of having been first established by the representatives of Brittany. Its numbers were rapidly increased by deputies from

bled on the occasion; but they dissembled their real feelings so well as to seem to share in the general rejoicing. Baudin, the deputy from Ardennes, who was really a worthy man, and sincerely grieved at the unfortunate turn that the affairs of the republic had taken, died of joy when he heard of Napoleon's return.

Napoleon had already quitted Lyons, when his landing was announced in Paris. With a precaution which was very advisable in his situation, he expressed to his couriers an intention of taking a different road from that which he actually took; so that his wife, his family, and particular friends, went in a wrong direction to meet him, and by that means some days passed before he was able to see them. Having thus arrived at Paris quite unexpectedly, he was in his own house, in the *rue Chantereine*, before any one knew of his being in the capital. Two hours afterwards, he presented himself to the Directory, and being recognised by the soldiers on guard, was announced by shouts of gladness. All the members of the Directory appeared to share in the public joy; he had every reason to congratulate himself on the reception he experienced on all sides. The nature of past events sufficiently instructed him as to the situation of France; and the information he had procured on his journey, had made him acquainted with all that was going on. His resolution was taken. What he had been unwilling to attempt on his return from Italy, he was now determined to do immediately. He held the government of the Directory and the leaders of the Councils in supreme contempt. Resolved to possess himself of authority and to restore France to her former glory, by giving a powerful impulse to public affairs, he had left Egypt to execute this project; and all that he had just seen in the interior of France, had confirmed his sentiments and strengthened his resolution.

Of the old Directory only Barras remained. The other members were Roger Ducos, Moulins, Gohier and Sieyes.

Ducos was a man of narrow mind and easy disposition.

Moulins, a general of division, had never served in war; he was originally in the French guards, and had been advanced in the army of the interior. He was a worthy man, and a warm and upright patriot.

Gohier was an advocate of considerable reputation, and exalted patriotism; an eminent lawyer, and a man of great integrity and candour.

Sieyes had long been known to Napoleon. He was born at Frejus, in Provence. His reputation commenced with the Revolution. He had been called to the constituent assembly by the electors of the third-estate, at Paris, after having been repulsed by the assembly of

the other provinces, and the members then termed themselves more comprehensively "the friends of the people;" but they soon became universally known by the name of the place where they assembled, in the *Bue St. Honoré*, which was called the "Hall of the Jacobins," from having formerly belonged to a fraternity of Dominican Friars, who were denominated after their patron saint. In the zenith of its renown, this central meeting kept up a constant intercourse with every part of France, by means of 20,000 affiliated clubs. It was only when they had fallen from their pitch of power, by their despotism and thirst of blood—aptly expressed in their own favourite phrase, "the system of terror," that the Jacobins took upon themselves the comparatively obscure appellation of the *Société du Manège*, from holding their meetings in the *Manège* or Riding House, where the National Convention had before held its sittings.—*Note of the Editor.*

the clergy at Chartres. He was the author of the pamphlet entitled, "What is the Third Estate?"* which made so much noise. He was not a man of business; knowing but little of men, he knew not how they might be made to act. All his studies having been directed to metaphysics, he had the fault of metaphysicians, of too often despising positive notions; but he was capable of giving useful and luminous advice on matters of importance, or at any momentous crisis. To him France is indebted for the division into departments, which destroyed all provincial prejudices; and though he was never distinguished as an orator, he greatly contributed to the success of the revolution by his advice in the committees. He was nominated as director, when the Directory was first established; but he refused the distinction at that time, and Lareveillere was appointed instead of him. He was afterwards sent ambassador to Berlin, and imbibed a great mistrust of the politics of Prussia in the course of his mission. He had taken a seat in the Directory not long before this time; but he had already been of great service in checking the progress of the *Société du Manège*, which he saw was ready to seize the helm of the state. He was abhorred by that faction; and, fearless of bringing upon himself the enmity of so powerful a party, he courageously resisted the machinations of these men of blood, in order to avert from the Republic the evil with which it was threatened.

At the period of the 13th of Vendemaire, the following occurrence had enabled Napoleon to form a correct judgment of him. At the most critical moment of that day, when the committee of the Forty seemed quite distracted, Sieyes came to Napoleon, and took him into the recess of a window, while the committee was deliberating upon the answer to be given to the summons of the sections. "You hear them, General," said he; "they talk while they should be acting. Bodies of men are wholly unfit to direct armies, for they know not the value of time or opportunity. You have nothing to do here: go General, consult your genius and the situation of the country: the hope of the Republic rests on you alone."

Napoleon accepted an invitation to dine with each of the Directors, on condition that it should be merely a family dinner, and that no strangers should be present. A grand entertainment was given to him by the Directory. The Legislative Body wished to follow the example; but when it was proposed to the general committee, a strong opposition arose; the minority refusing to pay any homage to General Moreau, whom it was proposed to include in the entertainment; he was accused of having misconducted himself on the 18th of Fructidor. The majority, in order to remove every difficulty, had recourse to the expedient of opening a subscription. The festival took place in the church of Saint Sulpice; covers were laid for seven hundred. Napoleon remained at table but a short time,—he appeared to be uneasy and much preoccupied. Every one of the ministers wished to give him an entertainment; but he only accepted a dinner with the Minister of Justice, for whom he had a great esteem: he requested that the principal lawyers of the Republic might be there; he was very cheerful at this dinner, conversed at large on the civil and criminal codes, to the great astonishment of Tronchet, Treillard, Merlin, and

* "Qu'est ce que le Tiers Etat?"

Target, and expressed a desire that the persons and the property of the Republic should be governed by a simple code, adapted to the enlightened state of the age.

Constant to his system, he entered but little into these public entertainments, and pursued the same line of conduct that he had pursued on his first return from Italy. Always dressed as a member of the Institute, he showed himself in public only with that society: he received at his house none but men of science, the generals of his suite, and a few friends—such as Regnault-de-Saint-Jean-d'Angely, whom he had employed in Italy in 1797, and subsequently placed at Malta; Volney, the author of excellent Travels in Egypt; Rœderer, whom he respected for his probity, and noble sentiments; Lucien Bonaparte, one of the most powerful orators of the Council of Five Hundred, who had protected the Republic from the revolutionary *regime*, by opposing the declaration that the country was in danger; Joseph Bonaparte, who lived in splendour, and was highly respected.

He went frequently to the Institute; but never to the theatres, except at times when he was not expected, and then always in the private boxes.

Meanwhile all Europe rang with the arrival of Napoleon; all the troops and friends of the Republic, even the Italians, indulged in the most sanguine hopes: England and Austria were alarmed. The fury of the English was turned against Sir Sidney Smith, and Nelson, who commanded the British naval force in the Mediterranean. A variety of caricatures on this subject was seen in the streets of London.*

Talleyrand was fearful of being ill received by Napoleon. It had been agreed both by the Directory and Talleyrand, that immediately after the departure of the expedition for Egypt, negotiations respecting its object should be opened with the Porte. Talleyrand was even to have been the negotiator, and to have set out for Constantinople twenty-four hours after the sailing of the expedition for Egypt from Toulon. This engagement, which had been formally insisted on, and positively consented to, had been immediately consigned to oblivion; not only had Talleyrand remained at Paris, but no sort of negotiation had taken place. Talleyrand did not suppose that Napoleon had forgotten this; but the influence of the *Société du Manège* had procured the dismissal of this minister; his situation was itself a guarantee. Napoleon did not repulse him: Talleyrand, moreover, availed himself of all the resources of a supple and insinuating address, in order to conciliate a person whose suffrage it was important to him to secure.

Fouché had been for several months minister of police; he had, after the 13th of Vendémiaire, some transactions with Napoleon, who was aware of his immoral and versatile disposition. Sieyès had closed the *Manège* without his participation. Napoleon effected the 18th of Brumaire without admitting Fouché into the secret.

Réal, commissioner of the Directory in the department of Paris, gained more of Napoleon's confidence. Zealous for the revolution, he had been substitute for the attorney of the commune of Paris, at a time of storms and troubles. His disposition was ardent, but he was full of noble and generous sentiments.

* In one of these, Nelson was represented amusing himself with dressing Lady Hamilton, while the frigate *La Muiron* was passing between his legs.

All classes of citizens, all the provinces of France, were impatient to see what Napoleon would do. From all sides came offers of support, and of entire submission to his will.

Napoleon employed himself in listening to the proposals which were submitted to him; in observing all parties; and, in short, in making himself thoroughly master of the true state of affairs. All parties desired a change, and all desired to effect it in concert with him, even the leaders of the *Manège*.

Bernadotte, Augereau, Jourdan, Marbot, &c. who were at the head of the plotters of this society, offered a military dictatorship to Napoleon, and proposed to acknowledge him as chief, and to confide the fortunes of the Republic to him, if he would but second the principles of the *Société du Manège*.

Sieyes, who commanded the vote of Roger Ducos in the Directory, swayed the majority of the Council of Ancients, and influenced only a small minority in the Council of Five Hundred, proposed to place Napoleon at the head of the government, changing the constitution of the year III. which he deemed defective, and that Napoleon should adopt the institutions and the constitution which he had projected, and which he had by him in manuscript.

Regnier, Boulay, a numerous party of the Council of Ancients, and many of the members of that of Five Hundred, were also desirous to place the fate of the Republic in Napoleon's hands.

This party was composed of the most moderate and wisest men of the legislature: it was the same that joined Lucien Bonaparte in opposing the declaration that the country was in danger.

The directors, Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, hinted to Napoleon his resuming the command of the army of Italy, his re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic and the glory of the French arms. Moulins and Gohier had no secret plan in reserve: they were sincere in the scheme they proposed; they trusted that all would go well from the moment that Napoleon should lead our armies to new successes. Barras was far from partaking of this security: he knew that every thing went wrong, that the Republic was sinking; but whether he had made engagements with the Pretender to the throne, as was asserted at the time,*

* "It is known at the present day that Barras had interviews at that period with agents of the house of Bourbon. It was David Monnier who served Barras as emissary in the negotiation which was entered upon. Barras had sent him into Germany; but, as he durst not hope that the king would forgive his revolutionary conduct, he had not been able to give his messenger any kind of positive instruction. Monnier then negotiated on behalf of Barras, without the latter having knowledge of any one clause of the negotiation; and it was thus that Monnier stipulated that Barras should consent to the re-establishment of monarchy in France, on condition that the king, Louis XVIII. would grant him safety and indemnity:—safety, that is to say, complete oblivion with respect to revolutionary conduct—the king's sacred pledge to annul by his sovereign power, all inquisitions on that head; indemnity, that is to say, a sum at least equal to that which the two years which he has to pass in the Directory would produce to him—a sum that he calculated at twelve millions of *livres tournois*, including the two millions that he was to distribute among his coadjutors.* His majesty, on this occasion, granted letters patent, which were transmitted to Barras by the Chevalier Tropès-de-Gueren, and exchanged for the engagement subscribed by the director, for the restoration of monarchy. Barras then took measures for recalling the Bourbons. On the 29th of Vendémiaire, nineteen days before the 18th of Brumaire, he believed himself to be certain of success; but this great design miscarried, partly through the excessive confidence of Barras, and partly by the delays occasioned in the execution by one

or whether he deceived himself as to his personal situation—for what errors may not spring from the vanity and self-love of an ignorant man?—he imagined he could keep himself at the head of affairs. Barras made the same proposals as were made by Moulins and Gohier.

However, all the factions were in motion. That of the *Fructidoriens** seemed persuaded of its own influence; but it had no partizans among the existing authorities. Napoleon had the choice of several measures, viz.

To consolidate the existing constitution, and to support the Directory by becoming himself a director. But the constitution was fallen into contempt, and a magistracy in several hands could not lead to any satisfactory result; it would, in fact, have been associating himself with revolutionary prejudices, with the passions of Barras and Sieyes, and by the consequent re-action, rendering himself obnoxious to the hatred of their enemies.

To change the constitution, and step into power by means of the *Société du Manège*. This society contained a great number of the rankest Jacobins: they commanded the majority in the Council of Five Hundred, and a spirited minority in that of the Ancients.

By making use of these men the victory was certain, no resistance would be offered. It was the most certain way to overthrow the existing state of things: but Jacobins do not attach themselves to any leader: they are unbending, and violent in the extreme. It would, therefore, have been necessary, after succeeding by their aid, to get rid of them, and to persecute them. Such treachery would have been unworthy of a noble-minded man.

Barras tendered the support of his friends, but they were men of suspicious morals, and publicly accused of wasting the national wealth. How would it have been possible to govern with such people? for without strict probity it would have been impracticable to restore the finances, or to do any real good.

To Sieyes were attached many well-informed men, persons of integrity and republicans upon principle, possessing in general little energy, and much intimidated by the faction *du Manège* and fearful of popular commotions; but who might be retained after the victory, and be employed with success in an orderly government. No objection could be taken to the character of Sieyes: he could not, in any case, be a dangerous rival. But to side with this party was to declare against Barras and the *Manège*, who abhorred Sieyes.

On the 8th of Brumaire (30th of October), Napoleon dined with Barras; only a few persons were there. A conversation took place after dinner: "The Republic is falling," said the director, "things

of the king's agents, who in order to make himself necessary, raised disputes respecting the powers that the king had given to the Duke de Fleury for the negotiation of this affair, &c."—*Biographie des Hommes vivants*, Michaud, 1816, tom. 1. page 214.

* The *Fructidoriens* were those who supported the decrees of the 5th of Fructidor (August 23), and the 8th of Fructidor (August 31, 1795): the first of these decrees, was to compel the re-election of two-thirds of the convention in the new legislature, which was to consist of the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of Ancients; and the second, that in default of the re-election of the two-thirds of the convention by the departments, that is to say, of five hundred of the actual members, the deficiency should be filled by their own nomination.—*Note of the Editor.*

can go no farther; the government is powerless; a change must take place, and Hedouville must be named President of the Republic. As to you, General, you intend to rejoin the army; and for my part, ill as I am, unpopular, and worn out, I am fit only to return to private life."

Napoleon looked steadfastly at him without replying a word. Barras cast down his eyes, and remained silent. Thus the conversation ended. General Hedouville was a man of the most ordinary character. Barras did not give utterance to his thoughts; but his countenance betrayed his secret.

This conversation was decisive. A few minutes afterwards, Napoleon called upon Sieyes; he gave him to understand that for ten days all parties had addressed themselves to him; that he was resolved to act with Sieyes and the majority of the Council of Ancients, and that he came for the purpose of giving him a positive assurance of this. It was agreed that the change might be effected between the 15th and the 20th of Brumaire.

On his return to his own house, Napoleon found there Talleyrand, Fouché, Rœderer, and Réal. He related to them unaffectedly, plainly, and simply, without any indication of countenance which could betray his opinion, what Barras had just said to him. Réal and Fouché, who had a regard for the director, were sensible how ill-timed his dissimulation was. They went to him on purpose to upbraid him with it. The following day, at eight o'clock, Barras came to Napoleon, who had not risen: he insisted on seeing him, entered, and told him he feared he had explained himself very imperfectly the preceding evening; that Napoleon alone could save the Republic; that he came to place himself at his disposal, to do whatever he wished, and to act whatever part he chose to assign him. He entreated Napoleon to give him an assurance that if he had any project in agitation, he would rely upon him.

But Napoleon had already made up his mind: he replied that he had nothing in view; that he was fatigued, and indisposed; that he could not accustom himself to the moisture of the atmosphere of the capital, just arrived, as he was, from the dry climate of the sands of Arabia; and he put an end to the interview by similar common-place observations.

Meanwhile Moulins went daily between eight and nine o'clock to the house of Napoleon, to request his advice on the business of the day. He always had military intelligence, or civil matters, on which he wished for instructions. On what related to military affairs, Napoleon replied as he felt; but with respect to civil concerns, thinking that he ought not to disclose his private opinions to him, he only answered in a vague manner.

Gohier came also occasionally to visit Napoleon, for the purpose of making proposals to him, and asking his advice.

The officers of the garrison, headed by General Moreau, commanding the citadel of Paris, demanded to be presented to Napoleon; they could not succeed in their object, and, being put off from day to day, they began to complain of his manifesting so little desire to see his old comrades again.

The forty adjutants of the national guards of Paris, who had been appointed by Napoleon, when he commanded the army of the Interior,

had solicited as a favour to see him. He knew almost all of them; but, in order to conceal his designs, he put off the time for receiving them.

The eighth and ninth regiments of dragoons, which were in garrison at Paris, were old regiments of the army of Italy; they longed to muster before their former general. Napoleon accepted the offer, and informed them that he would fix the day.

The twenty-first light horse, which had contributed to the success of the day of the 13th of Vendemiaire, was likewise at Paris. Murat came from this corps, and all the officers went daily to him to ask him on what day Napoleon would review it. They were as unsuccessful as the rest.

The citizens of Paris complained of the general's keeping so close; they went to the theatres, and to the reviews, where it was announced he would be present, but he came not. Nobody could account for this conduct; all were becoming impatient. People began to murmur against Napoleon: "It is now," they observed, "a fortnight since his arrival, and he has yet done nothing. Does he mean to behave as he did on his return from Italy, and suffer the Republic to be torn to pieces by these contending factions?"

But the decisive hour approached.

On the 15th of Brumaire, Sieyes and Napoleon had an interview, during which they resolved on the measures for the day of the eighteenth. It was agreed that the Council of Ancients, availing itself of the 102d article of the Constitution, should decree the removal of the Legislative Body to Saint Cloud, and should appoint Napoleon Commander-in-chief of the guard belonging to the Legislative Body, of the troops of the military division of Paris, and of the national guard.

This decree was to be passed on the eighteenth, at seven o'clock in the morning: at eight, Napoleon was to go to the Tuileries, where the troops were to be assembled, and there to assume the command of the capital.

On the seventeenth, Napoleon informed the officers that he would receive them the next day at six in the morning. As that hour might appear to be unseasonable, he feigned being about to set off on a journey: he gave the same invitation to the forty adjutants of the national guard; and he informed the three regiments of cavalry that he would review them in the Champs-Élysées, on the same day, the eighteenth, at seven in the morning. He also intimated to the generals who had returned from Egypt with him, and to all those with whose sentiments he was acquainted, that he should be glad to see them at that hour. Each thought that the invitation was confined to himself alone, and supposed that Napoleon had some orders to give him; for it was known that Dubois-Crancé, the minister at war, had taken the reports of the state of the army to him, and had adopted his advice on all that was to be done, as well on the frontiers of the Rhine as in Italy.

Moreau, who had been at the dinner of the Legislative Body, and whom Napoleon had there, for the first time, become acquainted with, having learned from public report that a change was in preparation, assured Napoleon that he placed himself at his disposal, that he had no wish to be admitted into any secret, and that he required but one hour's notice to prepare himself. Macdonald, who happened then to be at Paris, had made the same tenders of service. At two o'clock in

the morning, Napoleon let them know that he wished to see them at his house at seven o'clock, and on horseback. He did not apply to Augereau, Bernadotte, &c.; however Joseph brought the latter.*

General Lefevre commanded the military division; he was wholly devoted to the Directory. Napoleon sent an aid-de-camp to him, at midnight, desiring he would come to him at six.

Every thing took place as had been agreed. About seven in the morning, the Council of Ancients assembled under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Targues, depicted in lively colours the miseries of the Republic, the dangers with which it was surrounded, and the obstinate conspiracy of the leaders *du Manège* for the restoration of the reign of terror. Regnier, deputy for La Meurthe, moved that, in pursuance of the 102d article of the Constitution, the sittings of the Legislative Body should be transferred to Saint Cloud; and that Napoleon should be invested with the chief command of the troops of the seventeenth military division, and charged with the execution of this measure. He then spoke in support of his motion. "The Republic," said he, "is threatened by anarchists and by the foreign party: measures for the public safety must be taken: we are certain of the support of General Bonaparte: under the shelter of his protecting arm the Councils may discuss the changes which the public interest renders necessary." As soon as the majority of the Council was satisfied that the motion was in concert with Napoleon, the decree passed; but not without strong opposition. It was concluded in these terms:

"The Council of Ancients, by virtue of articles 102, 103, and 104, of the Constitution, decrees as follows:

"Art. 1. The Legislative Body is transferred to Saint Cloud; the two Councils shall there sit in the two wings of the palace.

"2. They shall assemble there to-morrow, the 19th of Brumaire, at noon; all exercise of their functions and all discussions, elsewhere and before that time, is prohibited.

"3. General Bonaparte is charged with the execution of the present decree. He will adopt all measures necessary for the safety of the national representation. The general commanding the seventeenth military division, the guards of the Legislative Body, the stationary national guards, the troops of the line which are in the commune of Paris, and throughout the whole extent of the seventeenth military division, are placed immediately under his command, and enjoined to recognise him in that capacity; all the citizens are to aid and assist him on his first requisition.

"4. General Bonaparte is summoned to the council-table to receive a copy of the present decree, and to take the oath; he will act in concert with the committees of inspectors of the two Councils.

"5. The present decree shall be immediately transmitted by messengers to the Council of Five Hundred, and to the Executive Directory; it shall be printed, posted, proclaimed, and sent to all the communes of the Republic by couriers extraordinary."

This decree was made at eight o'clock; and at half-past eight, the state messenger who was the bearer of it arrived at the house of Napoleon. He found the avenues filled with officers of the garrison, ad-

* When Napoleon went to the Council of Ancients, Bernadotte, instead of following the cavalcade, slipped away, and went to join the faction *du Manège*.

jutants of the national guard, generals, and the three regiments of cavalry. Napoleon had the folding-doors opened; and his house being too small to contain so many persons, he came forward on the steps in front of it, received the compliments of the officers, harangued them, and told them that he relied upon them all for the salvation of France. At the same time he gave them to understand that the Council of Ancients, under the authority of the Constitution, had just conferred on him the command of all the troops; that important measures were in agitation, designed to rescue the country from its alarming situation; that he relied upon their support and good will; and that he was at that moment going to mount his horse to ride to the Tuileries.

Enthusiasm was at its height: all the officers drew their swords, and promised their service and fidelity. Napoleon then turned towards Lefevre, demanding whether he would remain with him or return to the Directory. Lefevre, powerfully affected, did not hesitate. Napoleon instantly mounted, and placed himself at the head of the generals and officers, and of 1500 horse whom he had halted upon the boulevard, at the corner of the street of *Mont-Blanc*. He gave orders to the adjutants of the national guard to return to their quarters, and beat the generale; to communicate the decree that they had just heard, and to announce that no orders were to be observed but such as should emanate from him.

Napoleon presented himself at the bar of the Council of Ancients, attended by this brilliant escort. "You are the wisdom of the nation," said he: "at this crisis it belongs to you to point out the measures which may save the country: I come, surrounded by all the generals, to promise you their support. I appoint General Lefevre my lieutenant; I will faithfully fulfil the task with which you have intrusted me: let us look into the past for examples of what is now going on. Nothing in history resembles the end of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles the present moment."

All the troops were mustered at the Tuileries; Napoleon reviewed them amidst the unanimous acclamations of both citizens and soldiers. He gave the command of the troops intrusted with the protection of the Legislative Body to General Lannes; and to General Murat the command of those sent to Saint Cloud.

He deputed General Moreau to guard the Luxembourg; and for this purpose, he placed under his orders 500 men of the eighty-sixth regiment. But, at the moment of setting off, these troops refused to obey: they had no confidence in Moreau, who was not, they said, a patriot. Napoleon was obliged to harangue them, assuring them that Moreau would act uprightly. Moreau had become suspected through his conduct in *Fructidor*.

The intelligence that Napoleon was at the Tuileries, and that he alone was to be obeyed, quickly spread through the capital. The people flew to the Tuileries in crowds: some led by mere curiosity to behold so renowned a general, others by patriotic enthusiasm to offer him their support. The following proclamation was every where posted.

"Citizens, the Council of Ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just pronounced a decree; for this it has authority from articles 102 and 103 of the Act of the Constitution: it imposes upon me the duty of taking measures for the safety of the national repre-

sentation. The immediate removal of the representation is necessary; the Legislative Body will find itself in a condition to rescue the Republic from the imminent danger into which the disorganization of all branches of the administration is conducting us. At this important crisis it requires union and confidence. Rally round it: there is no other method of fixing the Republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory and peace."

To the soldiers he said:

"Soldiers, the special decree of the Council of Ancients is conformable to articles 102 and 103 of the Constitutional Act. It has confided to me the command of the city and of the army. I have accepted that command, in order to second the measures which it is about to adopt, and which are all in favour of the people. Two years has the Republic been ill governed; you have indulged in the hope that a period would be put to so many evils on my return. This event you have celebrated with an unanimity which imposes obligations upon me that I am about to discharge; you also will discharge yours, and you will second your general with the energy, firmness, and fidelity which I have always found in you.—Liberty, victory, and peace will reinstate the French Republic in the rank which she held in Europe, and from which imbecility and treachery were alone capable of removing her."

Napoleon now sent an aid-de-camp to the guards of the Directory, for the purpose of communicating the decree to them, and enjoining them to receive no order but from him. The guard sounded to horse; the commanding officer consulted his soldiers, they answered by shouts of joy. At this very moment an order from the Directory, contrary to that of Napoleon, arrived; but the soldiers, obeying only Napoleon's commands, marched to join him. Sieyes and Roger Ducos had been ever since the morning at the Tuileries. It is said that Barras, on seeing Sieyes mount his horse, ridiculed the awkwardness of the unpractised equestrian: he little suspected where they were going. Being shortly after apprized of the decree, he joined Gohier and Moulins: they then learnt that the troops followed Napoleon; they saw that even their own guard forsook them. Upon that Moulins went to the Tuileries, and gave in his resignation, as Sieyes and Roger Ducos had already done. Boutot, the secretary of Barras, went to Napoleon, who warmly expressed his indignation at the speculations which had ruined the Republic, and insisted that Barras should resign. Talleyrand hastened to the director, and related this. Barras removed to Gros-Bois, accompanied by a guard of honour of dragoons. From that moment the Directory was dissolved, and Napoleon alone was invested with the executive power of the Republic.

In the mean while the Council of Five Hundred had met, under the presidency of Lucien. The constitution was explicit; the decree of the Council of Ancients was consistent with its privilege; there was no ground for objection. The members of the council in passing through the streets of Paris, and through the Tuileries, had learnt the occurrences which were taking place, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the public. They were astonished and confounded at the ferment around them. They submitted to necessity, and adjourned their sitting to the next day, the 19th, at Saint Cloud.

Bernadotte had married the sister-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte. He had been two months in the war department of the administration,

and was afterwards removed by Sieyes; all he did in office was wrong. He was one of the most furious members of the *Société du Manège*. His political opinions were then very violent, and were censured by all respectable people. Joseph had taken him in the morning to Napoleon's house, but when he saw what was going forward, he stole away, and went to inform his friends of the *Manège* of the state of affairs. Jourdan and Augereau came to Napoleon at the Tuileries, while the troops were passing in review: he recommended them not to return to Saint Cloud to the sitting of the next day, but to remain quiet, and not to obliterate the memory of the services they had rendered the country; for that no effort could extinguish the flame which had been kindled. Augereau assured him of his devotion and his desire to march under his command. He even added "What! general, do you not still rely upon your little Augereau?"

Cambacères, minister of justice, Fouché, minister of police, and all the other ministers, went to the Tuileries, and acknowledged the new authority. Fouché made great professions of attachment and devotion: being in direct opposition to Sieyes, he had not been admitted into the secret of the day. He had given directions for closing the barriers, and preventing the departure of couriers and coaches. "Why, good God!" said the general to him, "wherefore all these precautions? We go with the nation, and by its strength alone: let no citizen be disturbed, and let the triumph of opinion have nothing in common with the transactions of days in which a factious minority prevailed."

The members of the majority of the Five Hundred, of the minority of the Ancients, and the leaders of the *Manège*, spent the whole night in factious consultations.

At seven o'clock in the evening, Napoleon held a council at the Tuileries. Sieyes proposed that the forty principal leaders of the opposite parties should be arrested. The recommendation was a wise one; but Napoleon believed he was too strong to need any such precaution. "I swore in the morning," said he, "to protect the national representation; I will not this evening violate my oath: I fear no such weak enemies." Every body agreed with Sieyes, but nothing could overcome this delicacy on the part of Napoleon. It will soon appear that he was in the wrong.

It was at this meeting that the establishment of three provisional consuls was agreed on; and Roger Ducos and Napoleon were appointed; the adjournment of the councils for three months was resolved on. The leading members of the two councils came to an understanding on the manner in which they should act at the sitting of Saint Cloud. Lucien, Boulay, Emile Gaudin, Chazal, Cabanis, were the leaders of the Council of Five Hundred; Regnier, Lemercier, Cornudet, Fargues, were those of the Ancients.

General Murat, as has been observed, commanded the public force at Saint Cloud; Pansard commanded the battalion of the guard of the Legislative Body; General Serrurier had under his orders a reserve stationed at Point-du-Jour.

The workmen were actively employed in getting ready the halls of the palace of Saint Cloud. The *orangerie* was allotted to the Council of Five Hundred; and the gallery of Mars, to that of the Ancients; the apartments since designated the Saloon of Princes, and the Em-

peror's Cabinet, were prepared for Napoleon and his staff. The inspectors of the hall occupied the apartments of the empress. So late as two o'clock in the afternoon, the place assigned to the Council of Five Hundred was not ready. This delay of a few hours was very unfortunate. The deputies, who had been on the spot from twelve o'clock, formed groups in the garden: their minds grew heated; they sounded one another, interchanged declarations of the state of their feelings, and organized their opposition. They demanded of the Council of Ancients what was its object? why it had brought them to Saint Cloud? was it to change the Directory? They generally agreed that Barras was corrupt, and Moulins entitled to no respect; they would name, they said, Napoleon and two other citizens to fill up the government. The small number of individuals who were in the secret, then threw out that the object was to regenerate the state, by ameliorating the constitution, and to adjourn the councils. These hints not being successful, a degree of hesitation showed itself, even among the members most relied on.

At length the sitting opened. Emile Gaudin ascended the tribune, painted in lively colours the dangers of the country, and proposed thanks to the Council of Ancients, for the measures of public safety which it had set on foot; and that it should be invited, by message, to explain its intentions fully. At the same time, he proposed to appoint a committee of seven persons, to make report upon the state of the Republic.

The furious rushing forth of the winds enclosed in the caverns of Eolus never raised a more raging storm. The speaker was violently hurled to the bottom of the tribune. The ferment became excessive.

Delbred desired that the members should swear anew to the constitution of the year III.—Chénier, Lucien, Boulay, trembled. The chamber proceeded to the *Appel Nominal*.*

During the *Appel Nominal*, which lasted more than two hours, reports of what was passing were circulated through the capital. The leaders of the assembly *du Manège*, the *Tricoteuses*,† &c. hastened up—Jourdan and Augereau had kept out of the way; believing Napoleon lost, they made all haste to Saint Cloud. Augereau drew near to Napoleon, and said, "Well! here you are, in a pretty situation!" "Augereau," replied Napoleon, "remember Arcole: matters appeared much more desperate there. Take my advice, and remain quiet, if you would not fall a victim to this confusion. In half an hour you will see what a turn affairs will have taken."

The assembly appeared to declare itself with so much unanimity, that no deputy durst refuse to swear to the constitution; even Lucien himself was compelled to swear. Shouts and cries of "bravo" were heard throughout the chamber. The moment was critical. Many members, on taking the oath, added observations, and the influence of such speeches might operate upon the troops. All minds were in a state of suspense; the zealous became neuter; the timid had deserted

* The *Appel Nominal* was a calling over of the names of the deputies, each one giving his vote at the time of answering.—*Note of the Editor*.

† The *Tricoteuses*, or knitters, were female Jacobin clubs, chiefly encouraged by Robespierre; they took their places in the national assemblies to hear the debates, and often formed a very large proportion of the audience.—*Note of the Editor*.

their standard. Not an instant was to be lost. Napoleon crossed the Saloon of Mars, entered the Council of Ancients, and placed himself opposite to the president (at the bar).

"You stand," said he, "upon a volcano; the Republic no longer possesses a government; the Directory is dissolved; factions are at work; the hour of decision is come. You have called in my arm, and the arms of my comrades, to the support of your wisdom; but the moments are precious; it is necessary to take an ostensible part. I know that Cæsar and Cromwell are talked of—as if this day could be compared with past times. No, I desire nothing but the safety of the Republic, and to maintain the resolutions to which you are about to come.—And you, grenadiers, whose caps I perceive at the doors of this hall—speak, have I ever deceived you? Did I ever forfeit my word, when in camp, in the midst of privations, I promised you victory and plenty; and when, at your head, I led you from conquest to conquest? Now say, was it for my own aggrandizement, or for the interest of the Republic?"

The general spoke with energy. The grenadiers were electrified; and, waving their caps and arms in the air, they all seemed to say, "Yes, true, true! he always kept his word!"

Upon this a member (Linglet) rose, and said with a loud voice, "General, we applaud what you say; swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year III. which alone can preserve the Republic."

The astonishment caused by these words, produced the most profound silence.

Napoleon recollected himself for a moment; and then went on again emphatically: "The constitution of the year III.—you have it no longer—you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the Legislative Body; you violated it on the thirtieth of Prairial, in the year VII. when the Legislative Body struck at the independence of the government; you violated it on the twenty-second of Floreal, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and the Legislative Body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

The force of this speech, and the energy of the general, brought over three-fourths of the members of council, who rose to indicate their approbation. Cornudet and Regnier spoke powerfully to the same effect. A member rose in opposition; he denounced the general as the only conspirator against public liberty. Napoleon interrupted the orator, and declared that he was in the secret of every party, and that all despised the constitution of the year III.; that the only difference existing between them was, that some desired to have a moderate Republic, in which all the national interests, and all property should be guaranteed; while, on the other hand, the others wished for a revolutionary government, as warranted by the dangers of the country. At this moment Napoleon was informed that the *Appel Nominal* was terminated in the Council of Five Hundred, and that they were endeavouring to force the president, Lucien, to put the outlawry of his brother to the vote. Napoleon immediately hastened to the Five Hundred, entered the chamber with his hat off, and order-

ed the officers and soldiers who accompanied him, to remain at the doors: he was desirous to present himself at the bar, to rally his party, which was numerous, but which had lost all unity and resolution. But to get to the bar, it was necessary to cross half the chamber, because the president had his seat in one of the wings. When Napoleon had advanced alone across one-third of the orangery, two or three hundred members suddenly rose, crying, "Death to the tyrant! down with the dictator!"

Two grenadiers, who, by the order of the general, had remained, and who had reluctantly obeyed, saying to him, "You do not know them, they are capable of any thing!" rushed in, sabre in hand, overthrowing all that opposed their passage, to join the general, and cover him with their bodies. All the other grenadiers followed this example, and forced Napoleon out of the chamber. In the confusion, one of them named Thomé, was slightly wounded by the thrust of a dagger, and the clothes of another were cut through.

The general descended into the court-yard, called the troops into a circle by beat of drum, got on horseback and harangued them: "I was about," said he, "to point out to them the means of saving the Republic, and restoring our glory. They answered me with their daggers. It was thus they would have accomplished the wishes of the allied kings. What more could England have done? Soldiers may I rely upon you?"

Unanimous acclamations formed the reply to this speech. Napoleon instantly ordered a captain to go with ten men into the chamber of the Five Hundred, and to liberate the president.

Lucien had just thrown off his robe. "Wretches!" exclaimed he, "you insist that I should put out of the protection of the laws my brother; the saviour of the country, him whose very name causes kings to tremble! I lay aside the insignia of the popular magistracy; I offer myself in the tribune as the defender of him, whom you command me to immolate unheard."

Thus saying, he quitted the chair, and darted into the tribune. The officer of grenadiers then presented himself at the door of the chamber, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" It was supposed that the troops were sending a deputation to express their devotion to the councils. The captain was received with a joyful expression of feeling. He availed himself of the misapprehension, approached the tribune, and secured the president, saying to him in a low voice, "It is your brother's order." The grenadiers at the same time shouted, "Down with the assassins!"

Upon these exclamations, the joy of the members was converted into sadness; a gloomy silence testified the dejection of the whole assembly. No opposition was offered to the departure of the president, who left the chamber, rushed into the court-yard, mounted a horse, and cried out in his stentorian voice, "General—and you, soldiers—the president of the Council of Five Hundred proclaims to you that factious men, with drawn daggers, have interrupted the deliberations of that assembly. He calls upon you to employ force against these disturbers. The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved."

"President," replied the General, "it shall be done."

He then ordered Murat into the chamber, at the head of a detachment in close column. At this crisis General B*** ventured to ask

him for fifty men, in order to place himself in ambuscade upon the way, and fire upon the fugitives. Napoleon replied to his request only by enjoining the grenadiers to commit no excesses. "It is my wish," said he, "that not one drop of blood may be shed."

Murat presented himself at the door, and summoned the council to disperse. The shouts and vociferations continued. Colonel Moulins, aid-de-camp of Brune, who had just arrived from Holland, ordered the charge to be beaten. The drum put an end to the clamour. The soldiers entered the chamber charging bayonets. The deputies leaped out at the windows, and dispersed, leaving their gowns, caps, &c.: in one moment the chamber was empty. Those members of the council who had shown most pertinacity, fled with the utmost precipitation to Paris.

About one hundred deputies of the Five Hundred rallied at the office, and round the inspectors of the hall. They presented themselves in a body to the Council of the Ancients. Lucien represented that the Five Hundred had been dissolved at his instance; that in the exercise of his functions as President of the assembly, he had been surrounded by daggers; that he had sent attendants to summon the Council again; that nothing had been done contrary to form, and that the troops had but obeyed his mandate. The Council of the Ancients, which had witnessed with some uneasiness this exercise of military power, was satisfied with the explanation. At eleven at night the two Councils reassembled; they formed large majorities. Two committees were appointed to report upon the state of the Republic. On the report of Beranger, thanks to Napoleon and the troops were carried. Boulay de la Meurthe, in the Five Hundred, and Villetard in the Ancients, detailed the situation of the Republic, and the measures necessary to be taken. The law of the 19th of Brumaire was passed; it adjourned the Councils to the 1st of Ventose following; it created two committees of twenty-five members each to represent the Councils provisionally. These committees were also to prepare a civil code. A Provisional Consular Commission, consisting of Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Napoleon, was charged with the executive power.

This law put an end to the Constitution of the year III.

The Provisional Consuls repaired on the twentieth, at two in the morning, to the chamber of the Orangery, where the two Councils were assembled. Lucien, the president, addressed them in these words:

"Citizen Consuls, the greatest people on earth entrusts its fate to you. Three months hence, your measures must pass the ordeal of public opinion. The welfare of thirty millions of men, internal quiet, the wants of the armies, peace,—such are the objects of your cares. Doubtless courage and devotion to your duties are requisite in taking upon you functions so important; but the confidence of our people and warriors is with you, and the Legislative Body knows that your hearts are wholly with the country. Citizen Consuls, we have, previously to adjourning, taken the oath which you will repeat in the midst of us: the sacred oath of 'inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French Republic one and indivisible, to liberty, to equality, and to the representative system.'"

The assembly separated, and the Consuls returned to Paris, to the palace of the Luxembourg.

Thus was the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire crowned with success.

Sieyes, during the most critical moments, had remained in his carriage at the gate of Saint Cloud, ready to follow the march of the troops. His conduct, during the danger, was becoming: he evinced coolness, resolution, and intrepidity.

FROM THE LONDON LITERARY GAZETTE.

Sketches of Field Sports, as followed by the Natives of India, with Observations on the Animals, Accounts of Customs, Anecdotes, &c. &c. &c. By Daniel Johnson, formerly Surgeon E. I. C. Service, and many years resident at Chittrah in Ramghur. 8vo. pp. 261. London, 1822.

It puzzles us to say whether this book be more curious, more desultory, or more entertaining; it embraces so strange a medley of subjects, and treats them in so original a way. In the author, the Sportsman predominates even over the Surgeon, but the *mixture* of the two makes a delectable compound for the cure of spleen or ennui. For we have not only vivid descriptions of elephant, tiger, panther, leopard, hyena, wolf, hog, buffalo, badger, porcupine, deer, and hare hunting; and accounts of all sorts of bird catching and snake charming; but also medical inquiries into hydrophobia and animal poisons; natural history, and effects of climate; and details of customs, manners, anecdotes, &c. &c., forming altogether one of those amusing melanges which amateur writers are sometimes so fortunate as to produce—gossiping, intelligent, lively, Montaguish, instead of the usual prolix, prosy, uninteresting, egotistical volumes of pseudo authors. Mr. Johnson tells us that he wrote to beguile the tedium of sickness, and we certainly think his work well calculated to do so, either in his own case or in the cases of others; and to crown the whole, we find that the printing was almost entirely performed by a girl under nine years of age (the Clara Fisher of typography) at a press made by her father, Mr. Fowler, of which press and infant compositor the “Indian Field Sports” is the first fruits. In this point of view the book is a great literary curiosity; and we may observe that the mode of getting it up was worthy of its contents.

Mr. Johnson begins with a description of the Jungle country between Calcutta and Benares, and then proceeds with its hunted inmates, both feathered and furred. The

“Shecarries (or professed hunters) are generally Hindoos of a low cast, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals: some of them confine themselves to catching birds and hares, whilst others practise the art of catching birds and various animals; another description of them live by destroying tigers.

“Those who catch birds equip themselves with a frame-work of split bamboos, resembling the frame of a paper kite, the shape of the top of a coffin, and the height of a man, to which green bushes are fastened, leaving two loop holes to see through, and one lower down for their rod to be inserted through. This frame-work, which is very light, they fasten before them when they are in the act of catching

birds, by which means they have both hands at liberty, and are completely concealed from the view of the birds. The rod which they use is about twenty-four feet long, resembling a fishing-rod, the parts of which are inserted within one another, and the whole contained in a walking stick.

"They also carry with them horse-hair nooses of different sizes and strength, which they fasten to the rod; likewise birdlime, and a variety of calls for the different kinds of birds, with which they imitate them to the greatest nicety. They take with them likewise two lines to which horse-hair nooses are attached for catching larger birds, and a bag or net to carry their game.

"Thus equipped, they sally forth, and as they proceed through the different covers, they use calls for such birds as generally resort there, which from constant practice is well known to them, and if any birds answer their call they prepare accordingly for catching them: supposing it to be a bevy of quail, they continue calling them, until they get quite close, they then arm the top of their rod with a feather smeared with bird-lime, and pass it through the loop-hole in their frame of ambush, and to which they continue adding other parts, until they have five or six out, which they use with great dexterity, and touch one of the quail with the feather, which adheres to them; they then withdraw the rod, arm it again, and touch three or four more in the same manner before they attempt to secure any of them.

"In this way they catch all sorts of small birds not much larger than quail, on the ground and in trees. If a brown or black partridge answers their call, instead of bird-lime, they fasten a horse-hair noose to the top of their rod, and when they are close to the birds, they keep dipping the top of their rod with considerable skill until they fasten the noose on one of their necks, they then draw him in, and go on catching others in the same way. It is surprising to see with what cool perseverance they proceed. In a similar manner they catch all kinds of birds, nearly the size of partridges."

The larger animals are also snared by nooses disposed in their haunts, and among others the hyena, the natural history of which Mr. J. says is imperfect, inasmuch as it is asserted they are untameable. On the contrary, he states that

"A servant of Mr. William Hunter's, by name Thomas Jones, who lived at *Chittrah*, had a full grown hyena which ran loose about his house like a dog, and I have seen him play with it with as much familiarity. They feed on small animals and carrion, and I believe often come in for the prey left by tigers and leopards after their appetites have been satiated. They are great enemies of dogs, and kill numbers of them."

"The natives of India affirm that tigers, panthers, and leopards, have a great aversion to hyenas, on account of their destroying their young, which I believe they have an opportunity of doing, as the parents leave them during the greatest part of the day. The inhabitants therefore feel no apprehension in taking away the young whenever they find them, knowing the dam is seldom near.—Hyenas are slow in their pace, and altogether inactive; I have often seen a few terriers keep them at bay, and bite them severely by the hind quarters; their jaws, however, are exceedingly strong, and a single bite, without holding on more than a few seconds, is sufficient to kill a large dog. They stink

horribly, make no earths of their own, lie under rocks, or resort to the earths of wolves, as foxes do to those of badgers, and it is not uncommon to find wolves and hyenas in the same bed of earths.

"I was informed by several gentlemen, of whose veracity I could not doubt, that Captain Richards of the Bengal native infantry had a servant of the tribe of *Shecarries*, who was in the habit of going into the earths of wolves, fastening strings on them, and on the legs of hyenas, and then drawing them out; he constantly supplied his master and the gentlemen at the station with them, who let them loose on a plain, and rode after them with spears, for practice and amusement. This man possessed such an acute and exquisite sense of smelling, that he could always tell by it if there were any animals in the earths, and could distinguish whether they were hyenas or wolves."

Mr. J. mentions an animal in the Ramghur hills, called *Dholes* or *Quihoes*, which he does not think has been described by any naturalist.

"They are between the size of a wolf and a jackal; slightly made, of a light bay colour, with fierce eyes, and their faces sharp like that of a grey-hound."

They are very fierce and shy, and, hunting in packs, often destroy large beasts of prey. The bears seem to be a more humorous race in India, for we are assured

"They are often met by travellers on the new road; the carriers of palanquins are so accustomed to see them, that they take little notice of them, unless they think they are carrying a person unaccustomed to the country, whom in that case, they endeavour to intimidate by pretending that there is great danger in going on. This they do with the hope that a reward will be offered them to proceed; but if they find that the person is aware of their tricks, they try to get a present, by amusing him with a song in which they imitate the bear.

"Bears will often continue on the road in front of the palanquin for a mile or two, tumbling and playing all sorts of antics, as if they were taught to do so; I believe it is their natural disposition, for they certainly are the most amusing creatures imaginable in their wild state. It is no wonder that with monkeys they are led about to amuse mankind. It is astonishing as well as ludicrous to see them climb rocks, and tumble or rather roll down precipices. If they are attacked by any person on horseback, they stand erect on their hind legs, showing a fine set of white teeth, and making a cackling kind of noise. If the horse comes near them, they try to catch him by the legs, and if they miss him they tumble over and over several times. They are easily speared by a person mounted on a horse that is bold enough to go near them."

The elephant, if not so sportive as the bear, claims from our impartial author the higher character of sagacity; and he adds several curious instances to the already well known host of stories which display this quality. For example:

"An elephant belonging to Mr. Boddam of the Bengal civil service, at *Gyah*, used every day to pass over a small bridge leading from his master's house, into the town of *Gyah*; he one day refused to go over it, and it was with great difficulty, by goring him most cruelly with the *Hunkuss* (iron instrument), that the *Mahout* (driver) could get him to venture on the bridge, the strength of which he first tried with his trunk, showing clearly that he suspected that it was not sufficient-

ly strong; at last he went on, and before he could get over, the bridge gave way, and they were precipitated into the ditch, which killed the driver, and considerably injured the elephant. It is reasonable to suppose that the elephant must have perceived its feeble state when he last passed over it. It is a well known fact, that elephants will seldom or ever go over strange bridges, without first trying with their trunks if they be sufficiently strong to bear their weight,—nor will they ever go into a boat without doing the same.

"I had a remarkably quiet and docile elephant, which one day came home loaded with branches of trees for provender, followed by a number of villagers, calling for mercy (their usual cry when ill used); complaining that the *Mahout* had stolen a kid from them, and that it was then on the elephant, under the branches of the trees. The *Mahout* took an opportunity of decamping into the village and hiding himself. I ordered the elephant to be unloaded, and was surprised to see that he would not allow any person to come near to him, when at all other times he was perfectly tractable and obedient. Combining all the circumstances, I was convinced that the *Mahout* was guilty, and to get rid of the noise, I recompensed the people for the loss of their kid. As soon as they were gone away, the elephant allowed himself to be unloaded, and the kid was found under the branches, as described by the people. I learnt from my *Sarcar*, that similar complaints had been made to him before, and that the rascal of a *Mahout* made it a practice to ride the elephant into the midst of a herd of goats, and had taught him to pick up any of the young ones he directed; he had also accustomed him to steal their pumpions and other vegetables that grew against the inside of their fences like French beans, which could only be reached by an elephant. He was the best *Mahout* I ever knew, and so great a rogue, that I was obliged to discharge him.

"The very day that he left my service, the elephant's eyes were closed, which he did not open again in less than a fortnight, when it was discovered that he was blind. Two small eschars, one in each eye, were visible, which indicated pretty strongly that he had been made blind by some sharp instrument, most probably by a heated needle. The suspicion was very strong against the former keeper, of whom I never heard any thing after. The elephant I frequently rode on, shooting, for many years after this, through heavy covers, intersected with ravines, rivers, and over hollow and uneven ground, and he scarcely ever made a false step with me, and never once tumbled. He used to touch the ground with his trunk on every spot where his feet were to be placed, and in so light and quick a manner as scarcely to be perceived. The *Mahout* would often make him remove large stones, lumps of earth, or timber out of his way, frequently climb up and down banks, that no horse could get over; he would also occasionally break off branches of trees that were in the way of the *Howdah* to enable me to pass.

"Although perfectly blind, he was considered one of the best sporting elephants of his small size in the country, and he travelled at a tolerably good rate, and was remarkably easy in his paces."

The animal *par excellence* in India is the tiger; of whose ferociousness and exploits our author tells us many terrific tales. We cannot copy more than a sample, from the midst of a cluster.

"An occurrence nearly similar happened to me soon after, which

put an end to my shooting on foot. From that time to the period of my leaving *Chittrah*, which was many years after, I always went out to shoot on an elephant. The circumstance I allude to was as follows:—Fifty or sixty people were beating a thick cover as before described; I was on the outside of it, with a man holding my horse, and another servant with a hog's spear; when those who were driving the cover called *Suer! Suer!* which is the *Hindoostanee* name for hog. Seeing something move the bushes about twenty yards from me, and supposing it to be a hog, I fired at the spot, with ten or a dozen small balls; instantly on the explosion of my gun, a tiger roared out, and came galloping straight towards us. I dipped under the horse's belly and got on the opposite side from him; he came within a few yards of us, and then turned off growling into the cover.

"When the people came out, they brought with them a dead hog partly devoured. These two cases, I think, show clearly that tigers are naturally cowardly. They generally take their prey by surprise, and whenever they attack openly, it is reasonable to conclude that they must be extremely hungry, which I believe is often the case, as their killing animals of the forest must be very precarious. It is the general opinion of the inhabitants, that when a tiger has tasted human blood he prefers it to all other food. A year or two sometimes elapses without any one being killed by a tiger for several miles round; although they are often seen within that space, and are known to destroy cattle; but as soon as one man is killed, others shortly after share the same fate; this, I imagine, is the reason why the natives entertain an idea that they prefer men to all other food. I account for it otherwise. Tigers are naturally afraid of men, and in the first instance seldom attack them, unless compelled by extreme hunger. When once they have ventured an attack, they find them much easier prey than most animals of the forest, and always to be met with near villages, and on public roads, without the trouble of hunting about for them through the covers.

"A tigress with two cubs lurked about the *Katkumsandy* pass, and during two months killed a man almost every day, and on some days two. Ten or twelve of the people belonging to government (carriers of the post bags), were of the number. In fact, the communication between the presidency and the upper provinces was almost entirely cut off. The government therefore was induced to offer a large reward to any person who killed the tigress."

* The dread of the tiger in other animals is curiously exemplified in a mode of breaking in bullocks to the yoke in Hindostan. Mr. J. states,

"The natives of India have a very strange method of breaking in their bullocks for ploughing. The cattle with which they plough the ground are in general small, yet they are strong enough for the purpose, the earth being only turned up a few inches deep. The larger cattle are selected for carriage, or for drawing hackeries [carts]. They are first yoked to an experienced bullock, and as most of them are of an obstinate restiff disposition, they soon lie down. To make them rise, the men twist their tails, and if that does not succeed, a man throws a tiger's or leopard's skin over his head, and runs towards the bullock, which never fails of making him get up immediately. After three or four repetitions of this, they seldom ever attempt to lie down. It has the same effect on bullocks which have never been in a country inhabited by tigers or leopards, and therefore they could never have seen a skin of the kind before.

"It is remarkable that horses which are bold in disposition, and quiet in management, when first they come into the hilly country, should soon become timid, and

She was fired at, and, adds Mr. J., never "heard of after; from which it may be presumed she was wounded. It is fortunate for the inhabitants of that country, that tigers seldom survive any wound; their blood being always in a state predisposing to putrefaction, a consequence of the extreme heat, and their living entirely on animal food.

"Two *Biparies** were driving a string of loaded bullocks to *Chittrah* from *Palamow*: when they were come within a few miles of the former place, a tiger seized on the man in the rear, which was seen by a *Gualah* [herdsman] as he was watching his buffaloes grazing. He boldly ran to the man's assistance, and cut the tiger severely with his sword; upon which he dropt the *Biparie* and seized the herdsman: the buffaloes observing it, attacked the tiger, and rescued the poor man; they tossed him about from one to the other, and, to the best of my recollection, killed him, but of that I am not quite positive. Both of the wounded men were brought to me; the *Biparie* recovered, and the herdsman died.

"An elderly man and his wife, (of the lowest cast of *Hindoos*, called *dooms*, who live chiefly by making mats and baskets,) were each carrying home a bundle of wood, and as they were resting their burdens on the ground, the old man hearing a strange noise, looked about, and saw a tiger running off with his wife in his mouth. He ran after them, and struck the tiger in his back with a small axe: the tiger dropt the wife, who was soon after brought to me. One of her breasts was almost entirely taken away, and the other much lacerated; she had also several deep wounds in the back of her neck, by which I imagine that the tiger struck at her with his two fore paws; one on the neck, and the other on the breast—this, if I may judge from the number I have seen wounded, is their usual way of attacking men. The old woman was six months under my care, and at last recovered.

"As an old Mahometan priest was travelling at mid-day on horseback, within a few miles of *Chittrah*, with his son, an athletic young man, walking by his side, they heard a tiger roaring near them. The son urged his father to hasten on; the old man continued at a slow pace, observing, that there was no danger, the tiger would not molest them. He then began counting his beads, and offering his prayers to the Almighty. In the act of which he was knocked off his horse, and carried away by the tiger; the son ran after them and cut the tiger with his sword; he dropped the father—seized the son, and carried him off. The father was brought to *Chittrah*, and died the same day; the son was never heard of afterwards. In this instance, I think, the tiger must have been ravenously hungry, or he would not have roared when near his prey; it is what they seldom or ever do, except in the very act of seizing.

"Some idea may be formed how numerous the tigers must have been at one period in Bengal, from the circumstance that one gentleman is reported to have killed upwards of three hundred and sixty. I heard Mr. Henry Ramus, at the time he was judge of the circuit of

frequently start at trifling objects. I can account for it in no other way, than their having at some time or other smelt a tiger or leopard, and natural instinct causes that fear."

* *Bipar* signifies merchandise, and *Biparies* are people who buy grain and other articles, which they transport from one part of the country to another on bullocks.

Bahar, declare that he had killed that number, and I was told that others fell by his hand before his death. He kept a particular account of every one which he killed; of which, I suppose, his friends are now in possession. Having charge of the Company's elephants for many years at a time when the *Cosumbazar* Island and *Patellee* jungle were overrun with tigers, he enjoyed better opportunities of killing them than has fallen to the lot of any other man, even of the German Paul, of whom Captain Williamson has said so much."

The Cheetah hunting, that is the chase of animals by that kind of small tiger (or rather panther, perhaps,) which we see in the Tower of London, seems to partake more of cruelty than of sporting:—

"It is (says our author) distressing to see them catch the deer; they are led out in chains with blinds over their eyes, and sometimes they are carried out in carts, and whenever antelopes or other deer are seen on a plain, should any one of them be separated from the rest, the *cheetah's* head is brought to face it, the blinds removed, and the chains taken off.

"He immediately crouches, and creeps along with his belly almost touching the ground until he gets within a short distance of the deer, who, although seeing him approach, appears fascinated, and seldom attempts to run away. The *cheetah* then makes a few surprising springs and seizes him by the neck. If many deer are near each other, they often escape by flight; their numbers, I imagine, giving them confidence, and preventing their feeling the full force of that fascination which to a single deer produces a sort of panic, and appears to divest him of the power or even inclination to run away, or make any resistance. It is clear that they must always catch them by stealth, or in the manner I have described, for they are not so swift even as common deer."

But we must now conclude our sporting annals, even though tempted to transgress our bounds still farther, by a very striking account of the magnificent Nawaub Vizier's method of pursuing game at the head of a retinue of some 70,000 in number. There is also a well drawn character of this native sovereign. There is, however, more fascination in the subject of serpents; and from the author's statement respecting them, we shall select a few paragraphs.

Trying experiments on these creatures, the author says,

"I well remember that I could find no medicine to counteract entirely the effect of the poison. I had dogs, cats, poultry, and other animals bitten, and all the cases tended to prove, that the power of the animal to destroy vitality, became considerably weakened after every bite. It required a tolerably large cobra de capello to destroy a cat; a second cat bitten by the same snake about half an hour afterwards recovered. I shall here remark that a cat withstood the poison better than any other animal, excepting the *Mongoose* [*Ichneumon*]. The commonly received opinion that the latter animal is never killed by the poison, is certainly erroneous; and that it repairs when bitten to the grass, and eats of some particular herb, which acts as an antidote, is also imaginary. I have seen several *Mongoose*s die almost immediately after being bitten by snakes, and have often observed them after the bite to appear for a time sick, and tumble about in the grass, without ever attempting to eat any; perhaps they may sometimes eat grass, but I am confident it is not of any particular

kind, and they do it merely as dogs, in order to cause vomiting. As soon as the sickness and effects of the poison are abated, they renew the attack, and with more apparent violence, but with considerably more caution.

"It is curious to observe with what dexterity these little animals conduct the fight, always attacking the tail first, and by that means disabling their enemy with the least danger to themselves; they then approach nearer and nearer towards the head, taking off a scale or two at a time; at last they seize him behind the head and destroy him. I have reason to think that the people who exhibit the fight, in most cases, first deprive the snake of his venomous teeth, as they very unwillingly allow the *Mongoose* to attack a snake fresh caught. I have had a dozen fowls bitten by the same snake; the first died in a few seconds, and so on, each in a proportionably longer time, to the twelfth, which was more than an hour in dying.

"A man exhibited one of his dancing cobra de capellos before a large party. A boy about sixteen years old was teasing the animal to make it bite him, which it actually did, and to some purpose, for in an hour after he died of the bite. The father of the boy was astonished, and protested it could not be from the bite, that the snake had no venomous teeth, and that he and the boy had often been bitten by it before without any bad effect. On examining the snake it was found that the former fangs were replaced by new ones, not then far out of the jaw, but sufficient to kill the boy. The old man said that he never saw or heard of such a circumstance before, and was quite inconsolable for the loss of his son.

"The method these people adopt to catch snakes is as follows:—As snakes never make holes for themselves, but inhabit those made by other animals, such as lizards, rats, mice, &c., in order to ascertain if they are occupied by snakes, they examine the mouths of the holes, and if frequented by them, the under part is worn smooth by the snake passing over it, with sometimes a little sliminess; whereas if frequented by any animal having feet, they cause a roughness in the earth. When they discover a hole frequented by a snake, they dig into it very cautiously, and if they can lay hold of its tail, they do it with the left hand, at the same instant grasping the snake with the right hand, and drawing it through with the left, with astonishing rapidity, until the finger and thumb are brought up by the head, when they are secure. I have seen them catch them in the same manner when gliding fast on the ground.

"They never could catch for me a cobra de monilo alive, although I offered them a large reward for one; they said it was too small and active for them to attempt to lay hold of it,* their bite being certain death. It is thought by the natives of India and by many Europeans, that snake catchers possess secrets that enable them to cure the bites of all snakes. I questioned them frequently on the subject, both when sober and intoxicated, and at last, for a small reward, I believe they disclosed all they knew, which I shall relate; and that they do not know of any infallible remedy, their refusing to catch cobra de moniloes is a proof.

* In general they are about the size of a man's little finger, and from twelve to fifteen inches long.

"Whenever they attempt to catch snakes, there are always more than one present, and a second person carries with him a *goor goorie*, which is a smoking machine, made generally of a cocoa nut below, with an earthen funnel above, containing fire balls. In this fire they have always secreted a small iron instrument, about the size of a prong of a table fork, curved into the shape of a snake's tooth, tapering from above, and whenever they are bitten, they first put on a tight ligature above the bite, then suck the part, and as soon as blood appears, they introduce this instrument red hot into the two orifices made by the teeth, and take some bazar spirits, if they can procure any, in which they infuse a small quantity of *bang*, [a species of wild hemp,] which mixture by the natives is called *gongeah*, but sometimes they use tobacco instead of *bang*.

"As far as I could learn, these are the only remedies that they ever adopt, and according to their account, often succeed.

"From the experiments which I made in Calcutta, it appears clear that snakes do not always possess the same power of destroying life. It is, however, a doubt with me whether they expend any of their venomous fluid in swallowing and digesting their food, as they do in killing it; if they do, their bite soon after eating will not be so mortal as after long fasting; in fact, whatever they do eat I believe they first kill; at all events, I conceive, the longer it has been contained in their bodies, the more venomous it is, and the hotter the weather the thinner the venomous fluid.

"I have teased them with a piece of cotton and made them expend their poison into it, and then gave them a fowl to kill, which was a considerable time in dying. It is not fabulous, but true, that they sometimes take their prey by fascination. I once witnessed it in company with Captain Trench, of the Bengal Native Infantry.—Sitting on a terrace near the house, we observed a small bird on a tree at a little distance, shaking his wings and trembling: we could not imagine the reason of it.

"In a few minutes we observed it fall from the tree, and ran to pick it up; to our great surprise we saw a large snake running off with it in his mouth: he got into his hole before we could procure any thing with which to destroy him."

FROM THE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE.

Pharmacologia; comprehending the art of prescribing upon fixed and scientific Principles, together with the History of Medicinal Substances. By J. A. PARIS, M.D., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 25s. boards. 5th edition.

THIS is a very entertaining, and, in some respects, instructive work; we shall, therefore, endeavour to draw an outline of its contents for the amusement and information of our general readers, recommending the perusal of the book itself to the medical profession.

The motley assemblage of substances which, at different times, have been admitted into the *Materia Medica*, the absurdity of some, the disgusting and loathsome nature of others, their questionable activity and fluctuating reputation, are circumstances which naturally excite us to inquire how it is that articles once highly esteemed should have

sunk into disrepute; that others of doubtful efficacy should have maintained their ground; and on what account materials of no energy whatever, have received the sanction of the wisest practitioners of different ages and times. "Physic," says a foreign writer, "is the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease," and a glance at the heterogeneous absurdities of the *Materia Medica* would induce us to acquiesce in this sarcasm, were it not that a cool and dispassionate inquiry into the revolutions that have occurred in the opinions of mankind with respect to the curative powers of medicinal agents, furnishes materials, which, in a great measure, calm our apprehensions, and remove our prejudices.

In reverting to the history of the *Materia Medica*, we shall, it is true, be struck with the inequality of its progress towards its present advanced state, as compared with other branches of scientific inquiry; but we must remember how peculiarly exposed it is to superstition, caprice, and knavery, and how rarely those methods of research applicable to the mathematical and physical sciences, can be applied in the investigation of remedies, for every problem which involves the phenomena of life is embarrassed by such complicated circumstances as to set at defiance all ordinary means of appreciating their influence.

We are lost in conjecture and fable in attempting to fix the period when remedies were first employed for the alleviation of bodily suffering. In the most remote times, in the rudest states of society, and amidst uncultivated and savage tribes, medicine was cherished as a blessing, and practised as an art; the regulation and change of diet, and of habit, must have intuitively suggested themselves for the relief of pain; and when such resources failed, charms and incantations were resorted to.

Our author observes that Dr. Warburton is evidently wrong in assigning the origin of amulets to the age of the Ptolemies, (300 years before Christ,) since Galen tells us that Nechepsus, 630 years before the Christian era, recommended a green jasper cut into the form of a dragon, and applied externally to the stomach, to strengthen digestion. Again, what were the ear-rings which Jacob buried under the oak of Shechem but amulets? Nor were such means confined to barbarous ages. Theophrastus pronounced Pericles to be insane because he wore a charm; and Caracalla, in the declining era of the Roman empire, issued an edict ordaining that no one should wear superstitious amulets.

In the progress of civilization various incidents in the choice and preparation of aliments must have unfolded the remedial powers of many natural substances; these were recorded, and the authentic history of medicine may date its commencement from the period when such records began. In the temple of Esculapius, in Greece, diseases and cures were registered upon marble tablets; and the priests prepared the remedies and directed their application, and thus began the profession of physic. The earliest records show that the ancients possessed many powerful remedies. Melampus administered steel, wine and hellebore; Podalirius practised venesection; the *nepenthe* of Homer, if not opium, was some analogous sedative prepared from the poppy. The sedative powers of the lettuce were also known in the earliest times, for we read that after the death of Adonis, Venus lulled her grief by reposing upon a bed of lettuces. Under the mystic title

of the *Eye of Typhon*, the Egyptians administered squills in the cure of dropsy; and cataplasms are also of extreme antiquity, for Nestor applied a mixture of cheese, onion, flour, and wine, to the wounds of Machaon.

"The revolutions and vicissitudes" says Dr. Paris, "which remedies have undergone in medical as well as popular opinion from the ignorance of some ages, the learning of others, the superstitions of the weak, and the designs of the crafty, afford ample subject for philosophical reflection." From his lengthy account of these revolutions we shall endeavour to select the most prominent facts.

Lord Bacon has justly observed that, "in the opinion of the ignorant multitude, witches and impostors have always held a competition with physicians," and this competition, we are sorry to add, as far as impostors are concerned, has extended to our own time. Superstition, under its various aspects, has always predominated in physic, partly in consequence of obscurity in the nature of disease and the art of its removal, and partly because disease awakens fear. Hence it is that the wrath of heaven, the resentment of demons, and the malignant aspect of the stars, have been resorted to as the sources of disease; and hence the introduction of remedies intended rather as expiations at the shrines of offended spirits, than as natural medicinal agents: thus precious stones, at first used as amulets, were afterwards powdered and swallowed. Sennertus speaks of a dry tench as an amulet for the cure of jaundice; afterwards, tench broth got into fashion for the same disorder.

A propensity to attribute natural effects to unnatural causes, is also one of the striking peculiarities of medical superstition. Soranus, instead of referring the use of honey in the cure of the thrush in children, to its bland medical qualities, attributes it to the bees having hived near the tomb of Hippocrates; and herbs were imagined to acquire distinct virtues according to the planet under whose ascendancy they were collected. The character R, which physicians at this day place at the head of their prescriptions with the meaning of *Recipe*, is a corruption of the astronomical symbol of Jupiter. Aperients were administered at particular stages of the moon, or at certain planetary conjunctions; and the practice of bleeding "at spring and fall," so long observed in this country, owed its existence to the same belief.

It is curious that medical superstition has never been confined to the prejudiced and vulgar, but has extended its influence over the best informed and instructed minds; Cicero and Aurelius, Bacon and Boyle, were equally open to its delusions; and in our own times the patients of Miss Prescott, the advocates of the metallic tractors, and the admirers of Mr. Whitlaw, may be adduced as analogous specimens.

To superstition and credulity we must add scepticism as a third enemy to the progress of rational medicine, and one, which naturally enough, has acquired great sway; it has chiefly arisen from the exorbitant and encomiastic praises which have been heaped upon different remedies at different times, and which having disappointed expectation, have wholly, but undeservedly, fallen into entire discredit. "The inflated eulogiums," says Dr. Paris, "bestowed upon the operation of *digitalis* in pulmonary diseases, excited, for some time, a very unfair impression against its use; and the injudicious manner in which

the antisiphylitic powers of nitric acid have been aggrandized, had very nearly exploded a valuable auxiliary from modern practice." Hemlock, too, lies open to the same remark. When its use was revived by Dr. Stoerck, of Vienna, it was announced as a cure for all manner of incurable diseases and discordant maladies, and when its virtues were found inadequate to these expectations, it was rejected as inert and useless. Cubebs and colchicum, now in their glory, are probably destined to share the same fate.

In observing upon the influence of false theories and absurd conceits upon the progress of the *Materia Medica*, our author takes a cursory view of some of the principal hypotheses which have prevailed in medicine, and which have conferred an ephemeral popularity upon crowds of inert and insignificant drugs. The school of Galen, for instance, taught that all medicines possessed one of the *cardinal* virtues of heat, cold, moisture, or dryness: diseases were similarly subdivided, and were to be treated by the opposite remedies. The four greater, and four less, hot and cold seeds, are upon this principle still maintained in some foreign Pharmacopœiæ; and in the London Dispensatory of 1721, we find the powders of hot and cold precious stones, and the hot and cold compound powder of pearls.

The methodic sect, founded by Themison, referred diseases to over-bracing, and to relaxation, and adopted a corresponding classification of remedies; a theory long banished from the schools, but still exerting its influence in practice. They observed that parchment was alternately rendered flabby and crisp by hot and cold water, and thence the notion of the relaxing and strengthening influence of the hot and cold bath upon the living fibre.

The Stahlans, trusting to the *Spiritus Archæus*, or *Vis Medicatrix naturæ*, put but little faith in any extraneous remedies, but they were vigilant and acute observers of the progress of disease. The Mechanical Theory ascribed diseases to lentor and viscosity of the blood; hence the doctrines of *obstructions*, with their corresponding classes of remedies; while the chemist, on the other hand, explained all morbid phenomena by a reference to acid and alkaline predominance.

But no medical hypotheses has conferred reputation upon inert substances, to the same extent as the *Doctrine of Signatures*, which assumes that "every natural substance which possesses any medicinal virtue, indicates, by an obvious and well marked external character, the disease for which it is a remedy, or the objects for which it should be employed." Paracelsus, Baptista Porta, and Crollius, were renowned advocates of this speculation. Thus the *lapis azules*, which is a hollow pebble containing another loose and rattling within it, was considered as effectually preventing abortion when worn upon the arm, and as promoting delivery when fixed upon the thigh. The lungs of a fox were regarded as a cure for asthma, because that animal is remarkable for strong powers of respiration. Turmeric is yellow, and therefore good for the jaundice. Poppies have *heads*, and hence their influence upon that part of the body. Upon the same principle the long pods of the *cassia fistula* must relieve diseases of the intestines, and the hard seeds of the gromwell alleviate calculous disorders. Eye-bright acquired fame in complaints of the eye from the black spot upon its corolla; and the blood-stone from its red specks was deemed efficacious in hæmorrhage from the nose.

Under the head of "devotion to authority and established routine," Dr. Paris very justly animadvertes upon the absurdities of the French Pharmacopœia, which still cherishes many of the pharmaceutical monsters of former days in all their original deformity, and of which we have given some account in a former number.

The same devotion to authority (observes our author) which induces us to retain an accustomed remedy with pertinacity will always oppose the introduction of a novel practice with asperity, unless, indeed, it be supported by authority of still greater weight and consideration. The history of various articles of diet and medicine, will prove, in a striking manner, how greatly their reputation and fate have depended upon authority. It was not until many years after ipecacuan had been imported into Europe, that Helvetius, under the patronage of Louis XIV., succeeded in introducing it into practice; and to the eulogy of Katherine, Queen of Charles II., we are indebted for the general introduction of tea into England.

The history of the potato is equally extraordinary; its introduction was opposed by the vulgar for more than two centuries, until Louis XV. wore a bunch of its flowers upon a gala day at court. The history of the warm bath, of Peruvian bark, and of tobacco, are also adverted to by Dr. Paris, as affording analogous instances of the influence of devotion to authority in effecting the introduction and use of articles of the *Materia Medica*.

Fashion, however, has not confined her interference to the selection of remedies, but has also decided upon the nature of diseases. Queen Anne was subject to hypochondriacal attacks, which her physicians called the *spleen*, and recommended pearl cordial for its cure. The spleen and the cordial were thus rendered fashionable complaints and remedies. After Dr. Whytt's publication on nervous diseases, no lady of fashion was troubled with the spleen, but now became *nervous*; and this term has lately yielded to *bilious*, and to the fashionable practice among certain medical men of pummelling their patients in the region of the liver, till they persuade them that they feel a tenderness there.

Under the head of "assigning to art that which is the effect of unassisted nature, or the consequence of incidental changes of habit, diet, &c.," Dr. Paris offers further specimens of the delusions to which his profession is especially open. His remarks on *Watering Places* are particularly amusing.

The chemist (he says) will tell us that the springs of Hampstead and Islington rival those of Tunbridge and Malvern; that the waters of Bagnigge Wells, as a chalybeate purgative, might supersede those of Cheltenham and Scarborough; and that an invalid would frequent the spring in the vicinity of the Dog and Duck in St. George's Fields with as much advantage as the celebrated Spa at Leamington. The physician, however, well knows that it is the journey, the change of scene and habits, the varieties of pursuit and amusement, that are the real remedies of our watering-places: and that, on the other hand, the recommendation of change of air and habits will rarely inspire confidence, unless apparently associated with medical treatment.

How our physicians, who migrate in the summer and autumn to the bathing and watering-places, will like the home truths which Dr. Paris so candidly expounds, we know not; but it has always appeared to us that their presence is highly necessary, not to direct the dose of the water, or the number of ablutions, but to obviate the mischief which continually arises from sea bathing improperly indulged in,

and from drenching the stomach, and weakening its powers, by large draughts of dilute saline solutions.

Under the head "Ambiguity of Nomenclature," Dr. Paris has collected some good instances of the mistakes that have occurred from the same name having been at different periods applied to different substances; and it is not uncommon to find a word originally used to express general characters, subsequently become the name of a specific substance in which such characters are predominant. The term "*Arsenikos*," from which the word *arsenic* is derived, was originally applied to all poisonous minerals, and arsenic being especially powerful, it became, in process of time, limited to *orpiment*, the most commonly occurring compound of that metal. The term *verberna*, our author tells us, originally denoted all those herbs that were held sacred as being employed in the rites of sacrifice; but as *one* herb was usually adopted on those occasions, the word *verberna* came to denote that particular herb only. *Vitriol*, originally denoting any crystalline substance, was afterwards limited to particular salts. Opium, which in its primitive sense signifies *juice*, (from *ovos*, *succus*), is now limited to one species, that of the poppy. Towards the conclusion of this article of his historical introduction, Dr. Paris touches, too lightly we think, upon the mischief that has arisen, and that is likely to arise, from the introduction of modern chemical nomenclature into the *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy. We shall not digress into any remarks upon the merits or demerits of that nomenclature as employed by chemical writers, but we are happy in this opportunity of expressing our decided opinion against its adoption in the *Pharmacopœia* issued by the College of Physicians, and this for several reasons. In the first place, it is not to be expected that physicians, in full practice, should have leisure, even if they had inclination, to follow the progress of chemical discovery, and the consequent fluctuations of chemical theory with their correspondent changes of nomenclature. In the next place, essential as a knowledge of chemistry is to the medical student, and zealous as many of those students are in its acquisition, there are more who enter into practice very imperfectly initiated even in the rudiments of that science, and quite unacquainted with the facts and theories which lead to the modification of the terms employed in abstract chemistry. And, lastly, admitting the Physician, the Student, the Apothecary, and his assistants and apprentices, to be perfect in the doctrines and nomenclature of chemistry, the terms thence derived are, from their complexity and length, quite unsuited to the brevity and perspicuity required in the prescription of the physician. Consequently, where chemical nomenclature has been adopted to its full extent, as in the French *Codex*, it becomes preposterously extravagant and absurd; and where only partially employed, as in the London *Pharmacopœia*, it involves erroneous terms, and enforces misconception. What can be more absurd than the term *Sub-dento-carbonas potassii*, of the *Codex*; or more erroneous than that of *Hydrargyri Submurias*, as applied by the London College? Why not rest content with *Kali* and *Calomel*?

In Dr. Paris's section "On the application and misapplication of Chemical Science," he has interwoven some very just remarks respecting the connexion of Chemistry and Pharmacy, and has given a concise abstract of Chemo-pharmaceutical history. There are, how-

ever, parts of this section which we had hoped would have been omitted in the present edition, and to which we refrain from offering reply or observation; not that we are alarmed by our author's assertions, nor silenced by what he is pleased to term "the animated but cool and candid defence of the late Professor of Chemistry in the University of Oxford," nor satisfied with the evidence which he adduces in favour of his own University, nor convinced of the chemical perfection of the late Pharmacopœia; but because we are certain the observations which have excited our author's angry animosity were neither written in the spirit, nor published with the intention, which he is pleased, in a paragraph at page 99 of the book we are reviewing, to assign to them.

That substances may occasionally be chemically inconsistent, but medically compatible, and, *vice versa*, is a position of our author which we are willing to admit in its utmost extent, and cordially join with him in deprecating the too prevalent and fashionable absurdity of attempting to account for the phenomena of life upon principles deduced from the analogies of inert matter. Upon this subject we cannot do better than quote the late Dr. William Hunter, who saw the mischief of these delusive but tempting theories, and who adverted to them in his lectures with his usual judgment and facetiousness. "Gentlemen," said he, "Physiologists will have it that the stomach is a mill; others, that it is a fermenting vat; others again, that it is a stew-pan: but, in my view of the matter, it is neither a mill, a fermenting vat, nor a stew-pan, but it is a stomach, Gentlemen, a stomach." This anecdote we take from Sir Gilbert Blane's "Medical Logic;" a work from which we have derived much pleasing information; and which we are happy in this opportunity of recommending, not merely to the attentive perusal of the junior branches of the profession, but to all who are interested in medical literature.

After some remarks on the influence of culture and climate upon the energies of medicinal plants, upon the adulteration of medicines, and upon the unseasonable collection of vegetable remedies, Dr. Paris concludes his "Historical Introduction," with a section "on the obscurity which has attended the operation of compound medicines." It is, of course, difficult, and often impossible, to ascertain to which ingredient of a very compound remedy the effects produced ought to be attributed; and it has frequently happened that inert and frivolous substances have thus gained a share of credit exclusively due to their associates. The chemical agencies of bodies must here also be taken into the account; for among mineral substances especially, active remedies may thus become inert, and inactive substances may give rise to the formation of very active and formidable compounds.

In the second division of his first volume, Dr. Paris proceeds to a review of the operations of medicinal bodies, and of the classifications founded on them. He defines medicinal substances to be "those bodies which by due administration are capable of producing certain changes in the condition of the living system, whereby its morbid actions may be entirely removed, or advantageously controlled." The arrangement of these substances which our author adopts is that of the late Dr. Murray, of Edinburgh, as set forth in his "System of Materia Medica, and Pharmacy;" and in his observations upon them we perceive nothing sufficiently original or important to require par-

ticular notice; we, therefore, pass on to the third and last of these preliminary essays, "on the theory and art of prescribing."

The importance of mixing and combining medical substances, and the increased efficacy which is thus often conferred upon them, was known to, and appreciated by, the physicians of remote ages; and lately the theory of these combinations, and the best, safest, and surest, modes of effecting them, have been diligently investigated, and form a prominent feature in the prescriptions of the pharmacopœia, and in the extemporaneous recipes of medical practitioners. Dr. Paris, therefore, somewhat surprises us when he talks of this inquiry as an unexplored field of research. Its high importance, and the carelessness with which it is usually pursued by hospital pupils, justify the space and attention given to it in the work before us, but we doubt whether the experienced practitioner will derive any new light from this bulky subdivision of the Pharmacologia. Thus, we see nothing new in the suggestion of combining tincture with decoction of bark, and of adding the powder, or extract, as occasion may require; nor in combining different narcotics, antispasmodics, and bitters, with a view of obtaining a more agreeable or effectual remedy than could be derived from any single substance. Every nurse is aware that salts and senna operate more effectually than either ingredient singly taken; and one grain of emetic tartar, with twenty of ipecacuan, is a common family emetic. But although there is a good deal of tautology in this portion of Dr. Paris's book, we repeat that the student should attentively peruse it, because it will, in many places, direct his attention to the *object* of several combinations which experience has suggested and sanctioned, and point out to him the cause of many apparent anomalies in the practice of our best physicians.

Speaking of change of diet and habits, Dr. Paris warns the young practitioner not to exercise his *caduceus* as Sancho's Doctor did his wand. In these respects the prejudices of the sick should not be wantonly or harshly opposed. With regard to diet, no function of the body is so materially influenced by mental impressions as *digestion*. The unexpected communication of any distressing event destroys the keenest appetite, and converts hunger into disgust for food: this fact did not escape Shakspeare, who represents Henry VIII. dismissing Wolsey with these words,—

Read over this;
And after, this; and then to breakfast
With *what appetite* you have.

"If," says our author, "feelings of disgust are excited by the repast, the stomach will never act with healthy energy on the ingesta; and in cases of extreme aversion, they are either returned, or they pass through the alimentary canal almost unchanged. On the other hand, the gratification which attends a favourite meal, is, in itself, a specific stimulus to the organs of digestion, especially in weak and debilitated habits." This, it must be admitted, is very comfortable doctrine. Dr. Paris further illustrates it by a facetious story aptly communicated to him by Dr. Merriman, of a lady of rank, whose state of stomach was so unrelenting that all food and medicine was rejected: after the failure of the usual remedies, she applied to Miss

Prescott, and was magnetized; when, to the astonishment of every one, she ate a beefsteak, and continued to repeat the meal every day for six weeks, without the least inconvenience!

But the diet of the valetudinarian is too important a matter to be trifled with, and its due management often requires more skill upon the part of the physician than that of medicinal remedies. How many are the diseases which may be traced to improper quantity or quality of food; and how grievous are the sufferings which may be ascribed to excess of nutriment among the higher classes of society, more especially of those resident in London, who live full and high, without that proportion of air, exercise, and employment, which is requisite to its due elaboration. How many bilious and nervous disorders, as our doctors call them, are thus excited or generated, and how much bodily and mental suffering might be spared by temperance in eating. In our days, the degrading fashion of hard drinking has certainly declined, and a corresponding improvement in health and morals has been the consequence. We have but few tipplers left, and they are deservedly excluded from all decent society. But *hard-eating* has unfortunately gained a proportionate ascendancy, and the appetite is artificially stimulated and excited by a thousand mischievous combinations unknown to our ancestors, and infinitely seductive and hurtful. The roast beef of Old England has ceded its wholesome dominion to a host of French *entremets* and *hors d'œuvres*, and with them a series of disorders have become prevalent, quite as grievous as those which our forefathers derived from the bottle: in short, gluttony has succeeded inebriety; and although the *connoisseurs* and *bon vivants*, the mouthicians and palaticians of Dr. Kitchener, may be shocked at the term, they are neither more nor less than downright gluttons, and but a shade better than the drunkard. It is not, however, to one, or even two good dishes, that we object, but to the system of an almost indefinite succession of stimuli. The stomach, distended with soup, is next tempted with all manner of fish, flesh, and fowl; the vegetable world is ransacked from the *cryptogamia*, upwards; and to this miscellaneous aggregate are superadded the pernicious pasticcios of the pastry-cook, and the complex combinations of the confectioner. All these evils, and many more, have those who move in *good* society to cope with; and it is with this variety of temptation, with this series of successive stimulants, that the stomach, good-natured and accommodating viscus as it is, has to contend. We repeat, that it is not to one or two good things, even abundantly indulged in, that we object; but to the system of overloading the stomach: nine persons in ten eat as much soup and fish as would amply suffice for a meal, and as far as soup and fish are concerned, would rise from their dinner satisfied, and even saturated. A new stimulus appears in the form of stewed beef, or *coutelettes à la suprême*—then comes a Bayonne, or Westphalia ham, or a pickled tongue, or some analogous salted but proportionately indigestible dish, and of each of these enough for a single meal, is superadded to the burden under which the stomach is already groaning: but this is not all—game follows, and to this succeed the sweets, and that most indigestible of all coagula, cheese, associated, perhaps, with some saline stimulus in the form of an anchovy or caviar: the whole is crowned with a variety of flatulent fruits, and indigestible knick-knacks, included under the term *dessert*. Wine we have

purposely omitted. Thus, then, it is that the stomach is made (with many of us daily *during the season*) to receive not one full meal, but is actually distended with a succession of meals rapidly following each other, and vying in their miscellaneous and pernicious nature, with the ingredients of Macbeth's caldron. The epicure talks of the easy digestion and light nature of turtle and venison, and of the quantity which can be eaten of either of those dishes; but the fact is, that at such a feast little else is generally superadded, and the digestion of a full feed of any *single* material is easy work for the stomach, compared with the miscellaneous drudgery which it is usually called upon to perform.

We have digressed a little upon the subject of over-eating, because we are convinced that it is the bane of life, and that it requires, in both sexes, more of the physician's attentive consideration than it generally receives. It is an ungracious task to curb the appetite of the sensualist, and restrain the voracity of the glutton; but it is one which the doctor, who does his duty, often ought to perform, instead of tampering with the epicurean propensities of his patient by the administration of rhubarb and bitters. It is true that there are constitutions which endure over-eating with impunity, just as there are drunkards who have lived to eighty; and that those persons who, to strong digestive powers, add regular hours, and above all, exercise, may often continue to overload the stomach with little other disadvantage than ordinary dyspeptic symptoms. But the studious and sedentary are the principal sufferers and they seldom discover their danger till it is past removal; they are assailed by head-aches and hypochondriasis—by plethora and palpitations—by vertigo, constipation, nausea, and want of sleep; the physician tells them that they are *bilious*, and, perhaps, quells the most pressing symptoms by antispasmodics and evacuants, or flatters them by the assurance that they are suffering under the *disorders of genius*, as Dr. Stuart has lately called these maladies; whereas the cure is to be found in air, exercise, and a *plain diet*, physic being at the same time "thrown to the dogs." Truly does the poet observe,

The first physicians by debauch were made;
Excess began and sloth sustains the trade.
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend,
God never made his work for man to mend.

Dr. Paris's just observations on diet, induce us to regret that he has not taken a more general and extended view of its influence upon mental and bodily health; his brevity is our apology for the preceding digression, and our end will be attained should it lead his attention to the subject.

To revert, with our author, to the *diet of the sick*; it should never combine too much nutriment in too small a space, "lest fermentation, instead of digestion," says Dr. Paris, "should ensue;" a position, this, in which we do not exactly coincide; for a sick person's stomach will often only endure very small quantities of very condensed nutriment, and of that "a little and often," is generally no bad maxim. Sir William Temple's notion, however, "that the stomach of a valetudinarian is like a schoolboy, always doing mischief when unem-

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ployed," errs upon the other side; for the healthy conversion of aliment into blood is incompatible with the unceasing activity of the stomach: periods of rest are required; for when in health, we loathe food during that important part of the digestive process in which chyle is forming and absorbing, and if it be taken, it does infinite mischief; whereas, increase of appetite during this stage of assimilation is symptomatic of disease, as we see in certain mesenteric affections, and in diabetes. These views, Dr. Paris tells us, have induced him to treat those affections in a different manner from that generally pursued; his plan consists in enforcing longer intervals between each meal, which should be scanty, and in quantity short of what the appetite may require:

In this way the unwilling absorbents are induced to perform their duties; but it is a practice which, from the extreme anxiety of friends and relations, the feelings of craving and hunger expressed by the patient, and the mistaken but universal prejudice respecting diet, it is always painful to propose, and generally impossible to enforce; where, however, circumstances have given me full control, the advantage of the plan has been most decisive. Vol. I. p. 273.

To these remarks, succeed a variety of useful observations upon the general management of remedies, upon the advantages derived from particular mixtures and combinations, and upon the most agreeable and efficacious forms of prescription, in which *simplicity* is, as far as possible, very properly inculcated. We have often been struck with the complexity of a physician's prescription, and have been quite unable to guess at his object and intention in assembling a phalanx of apparently discordant, and often inert, articles of the *Materia Medica*. Dr. Paris has helped us out of this difficulty. I was once told, he says, by a practitioner in the country, that the quantity, or rather complexity, of the medicines which he gave his patients, for there never was any deficiency in the former, was always increased in a ratio with the obscurity of their cases; "if," said he, "I fire a great profusion of shot, it is very extraordinary if some do not hit the mark." Sir Gilbert Blane has related as good a story.* "A practitioner being asked by his patient why he put so many ingredients into his prescription, is said to have answered more facetiously than philosophically, "*in order that the disease may take which it likes best.*" A patient in the hands of such a doctor reminds our author of the Chinese Mandarin, who, upon being taken sick, sends for twelve physicians, and swallows, in one mixture, all the potions which each separately prescribes. The young practitioner, however, should be reminded, that unless the mutual actions of bodies upon each other, and upon the living system, is thoroughly understood, *in proportion as he complicates a medicine, he does but multiply the chances of its failure.*

In describing the errors which may be committed in the composition or directions of a prescription, Dr. Paris suggests several useful precautions, and dwells more especially upon the necessity of chemical knowledge. "The file of every apothecary," he says, "would furnish a volume of instances where the ingredients of the prescription are fighting together in the dark, or at least are so adverse to each other as to constitute a most incongruous and chaotic mass."

* Medical Logic. Edit. 2, p. 192.

"Obstabat aliis aliud: quia corpore in uno
Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,
Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus."

Ovid. Met. lib. i. 19.

In adjusting the doses of his remedies, experience must be the practitioner's chief, and often only, guide. The tyro is apt to suppose that the power of a remedy increases with its dose, whereas the dose often determines its specific action. The preparations of antimony vomit, purge, or sweat, according to the quantity exhibited; and opium, in large and small doses, generally produces diametrically opposite effects. It often may be remarked that large doses produce a *local*, while small doses produce a *general*, effect; whence it is, perhaps, probable that medicinal, like nutritive substances, are more readily absorbed into the circulating system, when presented in small than in large quantities. A large quantity of food, taken seldom, does not fatten so much as smaller quantities at shorter intervals, as is shown in the good condition of cooks and their assistants, who are perpetually sipping, but seldom feasting: butchers, too, are rarely great eaters, but they get fat by the slow but sure process of absorption by the surface. Our author thinks that it is not pressing the principle of analogy too far, to suppose that the action of *alteratives*, which require to be absorbed, may be more effectually answered by similar management, that is, by exhibiting small doses at short intervals.

In apportioning the dose of medicines, certain general circumstances, which influence their operation, must not be lost sight of; among these the diminution of power induced by the protracted use of a medicine, and the relative degrees of power between the system and the remedy, are important. How much the activity of opium is influenced by habit, is too well known to require more than mere mention. And again, when a patient has been exhausted by protracted and severe suffering, a dose differing from one at the commencement of the disease will, probably, be requisite. The *variable* activity of a medicine should also be appreciated, and the practitioner should cautiously feel his way when employing active but uncertain remedies: foxglove is particularly in need of this caution.

The time of day at which remedies should be administered also deserves attention, especially where the quiet and comfort of the patient are essentially concerned: in fevers, for instance, purgatives should be so timed as to operate in the day, in order that the quiet of the night may not be infringed upon; and emetics, in similar cases, should be exhibited in the evening, because they induce a tendency to sleep and perspiration, which it is useful to promote.

Lastly, constitutional peculiarities, or *idiosyncrasies*, should always be borne in mind. There are habits in which opium produces no rest, but great excitement; in which a small dose of calomel is followed by obstinate salivation; in which a single grain of James's powder is succeeded by vomiting and repeated faintings; and we remember the case of a woman who was seized with sickness and tenderness of the bowels, and for whom an emetic, a purge, and a blister, were prescribed; the latter produced gangrenous erysipelas, and she sank under constant vomiting and a diarrhoea which could not be checked.

The conclusion of this volume treats "of the particular forms of

remedies, and the general principles upon which their construction and administration are to be regulated."

In speaking of *powders*, we think Dr. Paris incorrect when he says that the impalpable form is injurious to cinchona, rhubarb and guaiacum, in consequence, of an essential part of their substance being chemically changed by the operation. Had such an opinion come from us, our author would have called us *ultra-chemists*.

The suggestions respecting the changes in form and composition which some substances suffer on mixture and trituration, should be carefully perused by the practitioner: the liquefaction of dry salts, under these circumstances, is not unfrequent; and the physician, by inattention to such circumstances, "will be often betrayed into the most ridiculous blunders; an instance of which very lately came to my knowledge in a prescription for the relief of cardialgia and constipation in the case of dyspepsia; it directed *sulphate of soda and carbonate of potass*, in the form of a powder, but the *fiat* of the physician upon this occasion only served to excite the ridicule of the dispenser, who soon discovered that the ingredients in his mortar dissolved into a liquid." We can furnish Dr. Paris with a converse instance in the case of the *syrup of senna* of the late Pharmacopœia, which concreted into a solid, and, to the surprise of the physician, was sent to his patient in a pill-box.

When powders are of difficult solubility, we must guard against their intestinal accumulation, by maintaining during their use, a regular alvine evacuation. Instances are on record, in which powdered bark and magnesia have been thus suffered to accumulate. Bread adulterated with the impalpable felspar of Cornwall, and biscuits containing plaster of Paris, have created similar inconvenience. Sugar-plums are often similarly compounded, and children's bowels are so impatient of insoluble and extraneous contents, that, in respect to them, extreme precaution in these respects is necessary. We cordially join with Dr. Paris, in reprobating the practice lately suggested of improving bad flour by the addition of magnesia. "I object," he says, "to the introduction of any foreign and insoluble substance into our daily bread; and I am satisfied that the result of medical experience will sanction such an objection." Vol. i. p. 332.

Pills, and their peculiarities, are next treated of, and we trust that the suggestions here thrown out will not be wasted upon the compilers of the forthcoming *Pharmacopœia*, for it appears to us quite obvious that few *pill masses* should be there retained; they are apt to become either too soft or too hard by keeping; and in the latter case, we often see a hot spatula thrust into the pot for the removal of a portion of its indurated contents, and a hot pestle applied to render the mass tractable. To many *extracts* the same objection more forcibly applies, in consequence of the direction in the *Pharmacopœia*, that they should be "evaporated until they have acquired a consistence proper for making pills." The extracts of bark, sarsaparilla, and white poppy, and the compound extract of colocynth, are particularly open to these remarks. Perhaps the best way of getting over the difficulty, would be to desiccate them in all cases in a water-bath, until they admit of being powdered; by which, uniformity in their activity and convenience in their employment, would be most effectually attained.

The ingredients for pills might also be kept in a pulverulent state, and rendered into a mass when used.

This volume concludes with a collection of formulæ, intended to illustrate its precepts, and to furnish the inexperienced prescriber with a series of useful and instructive lessons; these we have carefully perused, and find them judiciously composed and selected, but the system of *key letters*, which seems to be a hobby with Dr. Paris, we cannot applaud; few students, we are convinced, will be at the pains of deciphering the intention of the different ingredients by their aid, and we are certain that none who have attentively read the author's previous instructions, will require it.

The second volume of the *Pharmacologia* is devoted to an alphabetical list of the articles of the *Materia Medica* with a condensed account of their properties and uses; it contains a great deal of useful information in a small space, but we regret that, under the head *Chemical Composition*, Dr. Paris has not spoken more at length of the theory of the Pharmacopœia processes; if he had briefly explained these, he would have added much to the value of his work, as far as the student is concerned, and have contributed no unacceptable information to the majority of his professional brethren. The space which we have devoted to the first volume forbids our entering into the details of the second, more especially as they are principally of an abstract and purely practical nature; we shall, however, for the amusement and information of our readers, select from it a few of the *recipes* for celebrated quack medicines, the principal of which Dr. Paris has been at the pains of examining, and has boldly published the formulæ for their preparation.

Anderson's Pills.—Aloes, jalap, oil of aniseed.

Aromatic Lozenges of Steel.—Sulphate of iron, and tincture of cantharides!

Pectoral Balsam of Honey.—Tincture of benzoin!

Barclay's Antibilious Pills.—Extract of colocynth, 2 drachms; extract of jalap, 1 drachm; almond soap, 1 drachm and a half; guaiacum, 3 drachms; tartarized antimony, 8 grains; essential oils of juniper, caraway, and rosemary, of each 4 drops, formed into a mass with syrup of buckthorn, and divided into 64 pills.

Bate's Anodyne Balsam.—1 part of tincture of opium, 2 parts of opodeldoc.

Black Drop.—Take half a pound of opium sliced, three pints of good verjuice, 1 ounce and a half of nutmegs, and half an ounce of saffron; boil them to a proper thickness, then add a quarter of a pound of sugar, and two spoonfuls of yeast; set the whole in a warm place near the fire for six or eight weeks, then place it in the open air until it becomes a syrup; lastly, decant, filter, and bottle it up. One drop is considered equal to three of the tincture of opium of the pharmacopœia.

Brodum's Nervous Cordial consists of the tinctures of gentian, calumba, cardamom, and bark, with the compound spirit of lavender and wine of iron.

Chelsea Pensioner, a cure for rheumatism.—Powdered guaiacum, 1 drachm; rhubarb, 2 drachms; cream of tartar, 1 ounce; flowers of sulphur, 2 oz.; 1 nutmeg finely powdered; make into an electuary, with one pound of clarified honey; two large spoonfuls to be taken night and morning.

Ching's Worm Lozenges.—Chiefly calomel and jalap.

Colley's Depilatory.—Quicklime and sulphuret of potass. (We suspect orpiment in this compound.)

Daffy's Elixir.—Compound tincture of senna of the Edinburgh Pharmacopœia, sweetened with treacle, and flavoured with aniseed and elecampane root. *Dacey's Daffy*, and *Sainten's Daffy* differ little from each other.

Dalby's Carminative.—Magnesia, 40 grains; oil of peppermint, 1 drop; of nutmeg, 2 drops; of aniseed, 3 drops; tincture of castor, 30 drops; of asafoetida, 15 drops; of opium, 5 drops; spirit of pennyroyal, 15 drops; compound tincture of cardamoms, 30 drops; peppermint-water, 2 ounces.

Essence of Coltsfoot.—This preparation (says Dr. Paris), consists of equal parts of the balsam of Tolu, and the compound tincture of benzoin, to which is added double the quantity of rectified spirit of wine; and this, forsooth, is a *pectoral for coughs*! If a patient, with a pulmonary affection, should recover during the use of such a remedy, I should certainly designate it as a lucky escape, rather than a skilful cure.

Whitehead's Essence of Mustard.—Oil of turpentine, camphor, and spirit of rosemary, with a little flower of mustard to colour it.

Freeman's Bathing Spirits.—Opodeldoc, coloured with Daffy's elixir!

Godbold's Vegetable Balsam.—Honey and vinegar!

Govland's Lotion.—A solution of corrosive sublimate, in emulsion of bitter almonds.

James's Analeptic Pills.—James's powder, gum ammoniacum, pill of aloes, with myrrh, of each equal parts, made into a mass with tincture of castor.

Norris's Drops.—A coloured solution of tartarized antimony in rectified spirits.

Remedies for the Hooping Cough.—Either opiates or medicines containing sulphate of zinc.

Reche's Embrocation for the Hooping Cough.—Olive oil, mixed with half its quantity of the oils of cloves and amber.

Ruspin's Tincture for the Teeth.—Florentine iris root, 8 ounces; cloves, 1 ounce; rectified spirits, 2 pints; ambergris, 1 scruple.

Scouring Drops.—Oil of turpentine, perfumed with essential oil of lemon-peel.

Solomon's Balm of Gilead.—An aromatic tincture, of which cardamoms form the leading ingredient, made with brandy. Some practitioners have asserted that cantharides enter its composition.

Steer's Opodeldoc.—Castile soap, 1 ounce; rectified spirit, 8 ounces; camphor, 3 ounces and a half; oil of rosemary, half a drachm; oil of origanum, 1 drachm; solution of ammonia, 6 drachms.

Taylor's Remedy for Deafness.—Garlic, infused in oil of almonds, and coloured by alcanet root.

Here we must take leave of Dr. Paris, with many thanks for the amusement and information afforded us by his book; its materials have evidently been collected with much pains and diligence, and they are put together with skill, and generally with candour. Though at variance with him upon a few points, we sincerely wish him the success he merits in the pursuit of his truly liberal and honourable profession; a profession which, in this country, is characterized, not merely by the learning and knowledge of its leading members, but by their unaffected philanthropy, unostentatious charity, and upright zeal.

FLOREAT.

FROM THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF LITERARY CORRECTION.

— "Turpem putat inscitè, metuitque lituram."

HORACE.

— "Otway fail'd to polish or refine,
And fluent Shakspeare scarce effac'd a line:
E'en copious Dryden wanted or forgot
The last and greatest art, the art to blot."

—POPE.

To persons of literary taste and discrimination it is a pursuit of no unpleasing or uninstructional nature to examine the various methods, by which many of our best writers have distinguished themselves in the annals of learning, and raised themselves to eminence and renown; to observe the numerous instances of improvement either in idea or expression; and to discover the frequent traces of deep thought, and

the obvious marks of diligence, which they have displayed in the final polish and corrections of their works. Researches of this description cannot but be productive of infinite pleasure and advantage. They tend to form and enlarge the understanding, and to throw a new light on subjects connected with the various branches of learning and philosophy. They lead the imagination to take a wider range in the walks of literature, and to follow the mind of the writer from the rudeness of its first conceptions to the elegance of its last. It is pleasant also, as Dr. Johnson well remarks in his *Life of Milton*, to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence; nor can there be a more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expansion; and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.

In this agreeable and rational pursuit, the attentive reader will find ample materials for employment in the works of our most celebrated divines, philosophers, and poets. He will there perceive such a wide scope for research, and such an expanded field of observation, that it must be the consequence either of indifference or negligence if the study is not attended with the most beneficial effects.

The first author of eminence, whom we may select as remarkable for industry and perseverance in his literary pursuits, is the learned Dr. Barrow. Though an appearance of negligence in his style be occasionally observable, owing probably to the warmth and profusion of his ideas, it is well known that he paid great attention to the structure of his native language. He consequently found it very difficult to please himself; insomuch that he generally transcribed his sermons three or four times over before he was satisfied with their diction. It is to this patient assiduity that we may ascribe his freedom from that intricacy and protraction, which mark the periods of Lord Clarendon and others of his contemporaries. In Barrow the sentences are perspicuously arranged and divided; seldom, if ever, tedious by their length, and usually closing with cadence and dignity.*

The style of Archbishop Tillotson, to use the language of Dr. Blair, is pure and perspicuous, but careless and remiss, and too often feeble and languid; with little beauty in the construction of his sentences, which are frequently suffered to drag inharmoniously with seldom any attempt at strength or sublimity. His manner is free and warm, and he approaches nearer than most of the English divines to the character of popular speaking. We must not indeed consider him in the light of a perfect orator. His compositions are too diffuse, and frequently too destitute of animation, to deserve that high character; but there is in many of his sermons so much warmth and earnestness, and through them all there runs such a vein of good sense and sincere piety, as justly entitle him to be esteemed one of the most eminent preachers that England ever produced.

Bishop Atterbury, observes the same judicious critic, ought to be particularly mentioned as a model of correct and beautiful style, besides having the merit of a warmer and more eloquent strain of writing than is commonly met with. At the same time he is more distinguished for eloquence and purity of expression than for profoundness of

* Drake's Biographical Essays, Vol. II.

thought. His language, though sometimes careless, is upon the whole neat and chaste, and more beautiful than that of most writers of sermons. In his sentiments he is not only rational, but pious and devotional.*

To the style and manner of Swift we possess a most striking contrast in the writings of Lord Shaftesbury, who, more than any other author of his age, was solicitous to round and polish his periods. All is elaborate in the compositions of this nobleman; every page bearing witness to the unwearied diligence with which he modulated and constructed his diction. His sentences flow with the most studied cadence, and their clauses are balanced and distributed with the greatest accuracy and precision. He possessed a rich and ardent imagination; and, when describing the beautiful and sublime in nature, his language was uncommonly elegant and appropriate.† The work, entitled "*An Inquiry concerning Virtue*," is remarkable for the great difference between the first edition and the corrected one, as it now stands among his works; and is mentioned by Dr. Blair as one of the most curious and useful examples of the *limæ labor*, the art of polishing language, breaking long sentences, and working up an imperfect sketch into a beautiful and highly finished performance.

The style of Lord Bolingbroke, on the contrary, is that of one declaiming with heat, rather than writing with deliberation. He abounds in rhetorical figures, and pours himself forth with great vigour and impetuosity. He is copious even to a fault, places the same thought before us in many different views, but generally with life and ardour. He is bold rather than correct; a torrent that flows strong, but often muddy. His sentences are varied as to length and shortness; inclining, however, most to long periods, sometimes including parentheses, and frequently crowding and keeping a multitude of things upon one another, as naturally happens in the warmth of speaking.

Sir William Temple is a remarkable writer in the style of simplicity. All is easy and flowing in him; he is exceedingly harmonious; smoothness and what may be called amenity are the distinguishing characteristics of his manner; but he was apt to relax into a prolix and remiss style, which a little attention and a close and careful revision of his subject would easily have corrected.‡

That in the early part of his life Milton wrote with more than ordinary care is evident from the manuscript of his works preserved in the University of Cambridge, in which many of his smaller poems are found as they were written with the subsequent corrections. Such reliques, says his biographer, show how excellence is acquired. What we hope ever to do with ease, we must first learn to do with diligence.

It is related by Richardson, that, when Milton was composing his *Paradise Lost*, he would sometimes lie awake whole nights without being able to make a single verse; but now and then his poetical faculty would rush upon him with a sudden and irresistible inspiration. At other times he would dictate more than forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number.

Fenton, in his entertaining observations on Waller, mentions a curi-

* Lectures on the Belles Lettres, Sect. XXIX. In these Lectures are contained some excellent observations on the style and manner of many others of our most eminent writers, with judicious remarks on their general character as authors.

† Drake's Biographical Essays.

‡ Blair's Lectures, Sect. XIX.

ous anecdote concerning the great industry and correctness with which Waller polished even his smallest productions. "When the Court was at Windsor, a few verses (not more than ten in number) were written in the Tasso of her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, at Mr. Waller's request, by Sheffield, the late Duke of Buckingham; and I well remember to have heard his grace say that the author employed the *greatest part of the summer* in composing and correcting them. So that however Waller is generally reputed the parent of that swarm of insect wits, who affected to be thought easy writers, it is evident that he bestowed much time and attention on his poems before he ventured them out of his hands."

It is well known, says Dr. Warton in his learned Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, that the works of Voiture, of Sarassin, and La Fontaine cost them infinite pains and trouble, and were gradually laboured into that facility for which they are so famous by the aid of repeated alterations and many erasures. Moliere is reported to have passed whole days in fixing upon a proper epithet or rhyme, although his verses have all the flow and freedom of conversation. It was the practice also of Boileau to make the second line of a couplet before he composed the first; and he was used to declare that it was one of the grand secrets of poetry to give, by this method, a greater energy and meaning to his verses. Of the patience and diligence of this celebrated writer we have a striking example in his "*Equivoque*," a poem consisting of only three hundred and forty-six lines, which employed him eleven months in writing, and three years in revising.

Considering the period in which he wrote, Addison also was peculiarly attentive, not only to grammatical purity, but to the modulation of his sentences; which, though never exhibiting any studied cadences, seldom fail to please the ear. It is related of him that he was so very particular in his compositions, that when an entire impression of a number in the Spectator was nearly thrown off, he would stop the press to insert a new preposition or conjunction; and indeed the numerous and minute *errata*, annexed to many of his papers in the original folio editions, strongly tend to confirm the report. How early he commenced this critical diligence is apparent in perusing No. 117 of the Tattler; where he has with his own hand marked for correction many errors in orthography and punctuation, and substituted several words which contributed to the improvement or illustration of the text.

In reading Dr. Johnson's "*Lives of the Poets*," we find that most of them bestowed great labour and attention in correcting and polishing their different works. Sheffield was all his life-time improving his "*Essay on Poetry*," by successive revisals, so that there is scarcely any poem to be found of which the last edition differs more from the first. In his remarks on Prior's "*Solomon*," Dr. Johnson observes, that it was undoubtedly written with great care and labour; that its author had infused into it much knowledge and much thought, had often polished it to elegance, often dignified it with splendour, and sometimes heightened it even to sublimity.

Dryden was accustomed to pay very little attention either to the propriety of his subject, or to the correctness of his language. He wrote, as he himself tells us, without much consideration; when oc-

casion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened to supply; and, when once it had passed the press, banished it from his mind; for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further solicitude. That the noble music ode, "*Alexander's Feast*," has not received the last touches of the poet's hand, is evident from the frequent deficiency of corresponding rhymes. His "*Fables*" also, particularly those of Palamon and Arcite, Cymon and Iphigenia, and Sigismonda and Guiscardo, exhibit many proofs of carelessness in the versification, and a want of dignity both in style and expression.

Pope, on the contrary, was not content to satisfy, he desired to excel; and, therefore, always endeavoured to do his best. He did not court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader; and expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven.—For this reason he kept his pieces very long in his hands, while he considered and reconsidered them. He is said to have sent nothing to the press until it had lain two years under his inspection. By so doing, he suffered the tumult of imagination to subside, and the novelties of invention to grow familiar. The only poems, which can be supposed to have been written with such regard to the times as might hasten their publication, were the two satires of "Seventeen Hundred and Thirty-eight;" which, as Dodsley once informed Dr. Johnson, were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied. "Almost every line," he said, "was then written twice over; I gave him a clean transcript, which he sent some time afterwards to me for the press, with almost every line written twice over a second time."

His declaration, that his care for his works ceased with their publication, is not strictly true. His parental attention never abandoned them; what he found amiss in the first edition, he silently corrected in those that followed. The "*Essay on Criticism*" received many improvements after its first appearance, as did also the "*Essay on Man*;" and it will be found, that he seldom made them without adding clearness, elegance, and vigour. He appears, also, to have revised his translation of Homer's *Iliad*, and to have freed it from some of its imperfections. To those who have skill to estimate the excellence and difficulty of this great work, it must be very desirable to know how it was performed, and by what gradation it advanced to correctness. Of such an intellectual process, the knowledge has very rarely been attainable; but, happily, there remains the original copy of the *Iliad*, which, having been obtained by Lord Bolingbroke as a curiosity, descended from him to Mallett, and is now deposited in the British Museum.* As a proof of the unwearied diligence, with which Pope polished and corrected that excellent translation, Dr. Johnson, in his life of that poet, has preserved a specimen which well deserves the study and attention of the reader.

Of the great and uncommon powers of Dr. Johnson, in almost every department of literature, so much has been said by his numerous biographers, that it were needless here to enlarge on them; but whilst on

* Johnson's Life of Pope.

the subject of correction, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that many of his *Ramblers*, which might well be supposed to have been laboured with the slow attention of literary leisure, were written in haste as the moment pressed, without ever being read over by him before they were printed. He once assured Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he wrote his *Rasselas* in the evenings of one week, sent it to the press in portions as it was published, and had never since read it over. The mode, in which he acquired this unusual correctness in composition, can only be accounted for, says Mr. Boswell, in this way; that by reading and meditation, and a very close inspection of life, he had accumulated a great fund of miscellaneous knowledge, which, by a peculiar promptitude of mind, was ever ready at his call, and which he constantly accustomed himself to clothe in the most apt and energetic expressions. Sir Joshua Reynolds once asked him, by what means he had attained such extraordinary accuracy and flow of language, to which he replied, that he had early laid it down as a fixed rule, to do his best on every occasion, and in every company; to impart whatever he knew in the most forcible and correct language; and that by constant practice, and never suffering any careless expression to escape him, or attempting to deliver his thoughts without arranging them in the clearest manner, it became habitual to him.*

Having thus selected a few examples from the best and most approved English writers, it may be useful to add some cursory remarks on the great advantages of strict and impartial correction; and of acquiring a habit of close attention in literary pursuits. These are, indeed, the only steps by which a writer can attain to eminence, or by which he can expect to gain the approbation of his readers, as well as to secure his own reputation.

The advantages of correction are two-fold; in the first place, as it contributes to render a work more complete and perfect; and, secondly, as it not unfrequently places the subject in a new light, and enables the author, by the aid of mature reflection, to add such ideas as tend more fully to illustrate and simplify it. Besides, every literary composition, in its unfinished state, is liable to error and misconstruction. It is, at first, "*rudis indigesta-que moles*," a chaos of words and ideas; but when it is subjected to the strict and impartial eye of criticism, the alterations and additions, which it receives, quickly reduce it to shape and order. And here it may not be unentertaining to observe the different manner in which authors in general have acted, with regard to their works. By some, the "*limæ labor*," or task of correction, is undertaken with a mixture of pleasure and anxiety; by others, with difficulty and dislike. Some begin regularly with the outline, and gradually finish their design "with patient touches of unweary'd art;" whilst those whose genius is more active, and less accustomed to restraint, abandon what they have written, as it were, by a kind of *curiosa felicitas*, in the heat of fancy and the ardour of imagination;—either from disdain of correction, or from despair of improvement. Others, again, employ at once memory and invention; and, with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses, by continued meditation, and write their productions only when, in their own opinion, they have completed them. It is related

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.—Vol. i. page 181.

of Virgil, that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and pass the day in retrenching exuberances and correcting inaccuracies. The method of Pope, also, as may be collected from his translation of the *Iliad*, was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them.*

It is a sure mark of ingenuousness and candour, when an author receives, with temper and moderation, the suggestions of those who are better able than himself to form a dispassionate opinion of the merits and defects of his works. Of this, Pope has given us an example in his own person, in the "Prologue to the *Satires*":—

"Did some more sober critic come abroad,
If wrong, I smil'd; if right, I kiss'd the rod."

This great poet, says his biographer, well knew that the mind is always enamoured of its own productions, and would not, therefore, trust his first fondness. He consulted his friends, and listened with great willingness to criticism; and, what was of more importance, he consulted himself, and let nothing pass against his own judgment.

His contemporary, Wycherley, does not, however, appear to have possessed the same open and liberal sentiments. He submitted his poems to the revision of Pope, who corrected them with equal freedom and judgment; but Wycherley, who had a bad heart and an insufferable share of vanity, was soon disgusted at the ingenuousness of Pope, insomuch, that he came to an open and ungenerous rupture with him.

A different picture is presented in the conduct of Boileau and Racine, who were accustomed to communicate their works to each other with the utmost sincerity and unreservedness; of which, many amiable instances appear in their correspondence. Boileau showed to his friend the first sketch of his *Ode on the Taking of Namur*. It is entertaining to contemplate a rude draught by the hand of such a master, and it is no less pleasing to observe the good temper with which he receives the objections of Racine. Racine, in return, submitted his tragedies, as they were written, to the correction of Boileau.

It does not display much prudence or judgment in an author, to indulge an undue fondness for his first productions. The records of literature, indeed, present us with too frequent examples of writers, whose fame has suffered from this overweening partiality, and this wilful blindness to their own errors. They have thus allowed many objectionable passages, sanctioned either by the taste or the licentiousness of the age, to stand uncorrected, which it would, in all respects, have been better to have blotted from their works. Shakspeare, Otway, Beaumont and Fletcher, Congreve, Dryden, Farquhar, Vanbrugh, and other dramatic poets of eminence, have transmitted their names to posterity with greatly diminished lustre, owing to this very cause. Few, indeed, are there, who imitate the praiseworthy resolution which Waller displayed, when he expressed his firm determination "to erase from his poems every line which did not contain some incentive to virtue;" or who deserve the tribute of praise which Lord Lyttleton, in his prologue to the tragedy of *Coriolanus*, so justly paid to the memory of his friend and companion, Thomson:—

* Johnson's *Life of Pope*.

"His virtuous muse employ'd her well taught lyre,
None but the noblest passions to inspire;
Not one immoral, one corrupted thought,
One line which, dying, he could wish to blot."

I shall conclude this subject with the following excellent remarks by Dr. Blair:—"We must observe, that there may be an extreme in too great an anxious care about words. We must not retard the course of thought, nor cool the heat of imagination, by pausing too long about every word that is employed. There is, on certain occasions, a glow of composition which should be kept up, if we hope to express ourselves happily, though at the expense of allowing some inadvertencies to pass. A more severe examination of these must be left to the work of correction. For, if the practice of composition be useful, the laborious task of correcting is no less so; it is indeed absolutely necessary to our reaping any benefit from the habit of composition. I should therefore advise that what is written should be laid by for some little time, till the ardour of composition be past; till the fondness for the expressions we have used be worn off, and the expressions themselves be forgotten; and then reviewing our work with a cool and critical eye, as if it were the performance of another, we shall discern many imperfections which at first escaped us. Then is the season for pruning redundancies, for examining the arrangement of sentences, for attending to the juncture and connecting particles, and for bringing style into a regular, correct, and supported form. This important task must be submitted to by all who would communicate their thoughts with proper advantage to others; and constant practice in it will soon sharpen their eye to the most necessary objects of attention, and render it a much more easy and practicable work than might at first be imagined."

D. F.

FROM THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRECOCIOUS TALENTS OF THE DRAMATIC
PHENOMENON, MISS CLARA FISHER.

MISS CLARA FISHER was born in London on the 14th of July, 1811, and is the youngest daughter of Mr. Fisher, formerly proprietor of the Steyne Library, Brighton, but for many years a respectable auctioneer in Covent Garden.

The first intimation of uncommon perception which she evinced, was her knowledge in musical sounds, which, whilst an infant in arms, she showed by various ways; expressing great delight when certain tunes were played which pleased her ear; whilst, on the other hand, she opposed the performing of those she had taken a dislike to, by every means in her power. Repeated experiments were made to ascertain whether it was a real knowledge of difference of sounds, or merely the effect of chance, or childish caprice; but the results were ever invariably the same: the first bar of the tunes she disliked being played on the piano would set her crying; but, when changed to those she approved, she instantly laughed, and demonstrated the

greatest pleasure. Dr. Williams (better known by the name of Antony Pasquin,) mentions the above circumstance of little Clara in his Dramatic Censor, as an extraordinary instance of infantine perception. Mr. Fisher's family being in private life, few opportunities presented themselves of witnessing dramatic representation; but the fame which Miss O'Neill acquired on her appearing in London, induced Mr. Fisher to visit Covent Garden theatre with his family, to witness the tragedy of *Jane Shore*; and, from the impression made that evening on the mind of little Clara, may be dated her passion for acting.

On her return home the same evening, while the family were at supper, she left the table, (unobserved as she supposed,) and began to act, in dumb show, what she had seen Miss O'Neill perform in *Jane Shore*; but, infant like, blended with it the madness of Alicia. A few nights after she was taken to the Olympic theatre, where a comic dance was very well executed by the clown, and which the next day she repeated every step, with all the grimace and distortion of features used by the performer the night before. These early efforts, in a child of four years of age, gave much pleasure to her parents; and, whenever they had a party of friends, by way of amusement, they would send an elder sister of Clara's to the piano to play some of the plaintive airs she was fond of, (as if by accident,) which, as soon as she heard, she would leave off every other pursuit, and instantly commence a pathetic story in dumb show, varying her action in the most graceful manner possible. Sometimes she would raise her hands and eyes towards heaven, as if imploring mercy, then fall, as if expiring, at full length upon the floor; at others, she would appear with all the frantic madness of Alicia, with dishevelled hair, fixed eyes, and wild distraction in her aspect, seem to follow round the room, with ghastly stare, the "headless trunk" (so forcibly described by Rowe,) out of the door, in all the agony she had observed in Alicia. As she never uttered a word on these occasions, what passed in her mind could only be conjectured; but, certain it is, she invariably drew tears from all who witnessed these self-created tragic scenes; and, what was most extraordinary, she never by any chance acted them twice alike, but always found a never failing variety whenever the music induced her to exert her talents in a dramatic line.

About two years after, when she was turned of six years of age, Mr. D. Corri, composer, having much influence with Mr. Raymond, the then acting manager of Drury Lane theatre, he entered into a treaty with him to bring out a piece, wherein his own pupils only should perform; and, to one of their rehearsals, little Clara was invited, and, expressing herself much pleased with what she heard and saw the young ladies do, she was frequently solicited to be of their morning and evening parties: at length, she expressed a wish to learn something, that she might recite at their next meeting at Mr. D. Corri's in Percy-street. Accordingly, her elder sister taught her *Jane Shore's* speech of "O! thou most righteous judge," in which Miss O'Neill seemed to have made so strong an impression on her mind, and she repeated it the next time the party met together at rehearsal, at which were present many persons of fashion and consequence, who all expressed great surprise and delight at the ease and propriety with which she delivered the text.

From that time she became an object of attention; and, soon after, Mr. D. Corri waited on Mr. Fisher, soliciting him to permit little Clara to join his juvenile party in their intended performances in Drury Lane theatre. The objections which Mr. Fisher had to Clara's appearing as an actress, at so early a period of life, were ultimately overruled; and the next difficulty to overcome, was, what piece was best suited to bring forth such youthful candidates to advantage in. After much consultation on the subject, Garrick's two-act romance of *Lilliput* was fixed upon; but, as the piece had no songs, as originally written, and all Mr. Corri's pupils being only musical, Mr. Fisher (the father of little Clara) was requested to write appropriate songs for each of the characters, and make such additions as he should deem necessary to show forth all the talent of the juvenile party. To accomplish which, Mr. Fisher found it advisable to write several additional characters, and an entire new last act; in which a masque was introduced, supposed to be given at the Lilliputian court by order of their king, in compliment to Gulliver. In this masque, the last act of Shakspeare's *Richard III.*, from the tent scene to the death of the tyrant, was artfully interwoven, in order to show the talents of little Clara in the highest range of the drama. The music to the songs, duets, glees, and chorusses, were composed by Mr. D. Corri; and the piece, thus altered, made its first appearance at Drury Lane theatre on the tenth day of December, 1817, under the stage-management of Mr. H. E. Johnson, who had succeeded to that situation on the demise of Mr. Raymond.

The piece was received throughout with the most flattering success; but the tumultuous applause and approbation bestowed on the delineation of King Richard III. by the little heroine of these memoirs, were as warm and enthusiastic as ever were heard within the walls of a theatre. Soon after the curtain fell, divested of Richard's robes and attire, little Clara reappeared, dressed in a white muslin frock; and, with infantine innocence, spoke the epilogue.

Thunders of applause followed a simple and innocent appeal to the feelings of the audience from one so young and interesting in appearance, and the piece was given out for repetition with unanimous plaudits from every quarter of the house. For the first three nights *Lilliput* was done as an after-piece; for four following evenings as a middle piece; and, as a proof of its great attraction, the last ten nights as a first piece,—and filling the theatre whenever it was announced, whether as first, second, or after-piece.

As soon as it was known that Miss Clara Fisher's engagement was terminated at Drury Lane, she was applied for by Mr. Harris, manager of Covent Garden theatre, and made her appearance there with great success in *Richard III.*, being honoured on the fourth evening of her performance with the presence of his present Majesty, (then Prince Regent,) and the first time of his appearing in public after the loss of the Princess Charlotte; the Duke of York, Prince William of Gloucester, and many other branches of the royal family, being present on the same evening. Mr. Elliston, the present patentee of Drury Lane theatre, engaged Miss Clara Fisher on the most liberal terms to perform twelve nights at Birmingham, where she appeared with great success in March, 1818.

Her fame as an actress by this time having reached the most dis-

tant parts of the kingdom, numerous engagements poured in from every respectable theatre in England and Scotland; and, in nearly every city and town of consequence in both kingdoms, she has appeared with brilliant success. At Edinburgh, her reception was of the most flattering description: persons of the highest respectability, after her first appearance, soliciting her acquaintance; and a society of gentlemen, who are studying Drs. Gall and Spurzheim's System of Phrenology, requested to have a cast taken from her head, which, being granted, is now one amongst the number lectured on, to illustrate the system. On her second visit to Edinburgh the following year, she was again received with every mark of kindness and respect, the houses were crowded nightly with beauty and fashion, the critics were lavish of their praises in every newspaper and periodical publication in that literary quarter of the kingdom, and nothing was omitted that could in any way testify their approbation of our little heroine. She afterwards played in Glasgow, Grenock, Dundee, Cupar, Montrose, St. Andrew's, and Aberdeen, with the greatest success; visiting, in her tour, York, Hull, Durham, Newcastle, Sunderland, Shields, Scarborough, Harrowgate, Halifax, Doncaster, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, Preston, Warrington, Bolton, Chester, Stockport, Manchester, Liverpool, Stamford, Margate, Canterbury, Tunbridge Wells, Dover, Brighton, Worthing, Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Winchester, Taunton, Salisbury, Isle of Wight, Weymouth, Lymington, Exeter, Plymouth, and London. She has just finished a very successful engagement at the English Opera-house, where her attraction has been most powerful, drawing crowds nightly to the theatre to witness her extraordinary powers in singing, dancing, serious and comic acting. The writers in all the papers and publications, where theatres are mentioned, always speaking of her powers as an actress, in the most unqualified terms of praise and admiration. In the course of her theatric tour she has travelled upwards of fifteen thousand miles! performed the character of King Richard III. more than three hundred and fifty times! besides the following most extraordinary list of parts: Falstaff, Shylock, Douglas, Scrub, Marplot, Ollapod, Dr. Pangloss, Sir Peter Teazle, Crack, Captain Allclack, Bombastes Furioso, Lord Flimnap, Myrtillo, Mock Doctor, Midas, Little Pickle, Moggy M'Gilpin, and Actress of All Work, with a versatility and correctness which cannot be surpassed, and must be witnessed to be believed: with comic songs, prologues, epilogues, Scotch, Spanish, and English, dances of various descriptions, and all in very superior style. Her memory is so very retentive, that study, or learning of any kind, is no trouble; and she has only to read a character a few times, to be what is theatrically termed, letter perfect; and so anxious is she to form a correct knowledge of the part she is to represent, that she always studies the whole play in which she is to perform. It has been affirmed by many, that she is a copyist of some of our great actors and actresses; but, so far from that being the fact, she never saw a play in which she performs a part, excepting Richard III., when, five nights after she had acted it at Drury Lane theatre, she was requested by the manager to go in front and see Mr. Kean go through the character.

Vanity of no kind has as yet taken possession of her heart, nor does she appear in any way conscious of her acknowledged superior abili-

ties. Her temper is mild, gentle, and affectionate, doatingly fond of her parents, sisters, and brothers, as may be naturally supposed they are of her. She enjoys an excellent state of health, and is never so happy as when on the stage. In her leisure hours from study she amuses herself, like other children, in dressing and nursing her doll; but no childish or frivolous remark ever escapes her lips. In intellect she is nature in every way; and those persons who are most intimate with the family in private life, speak of little Clara with more rapture off the boards, than they who only see her on them.

Extracts from the New Work intitled "Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily," by the Rev. J. J. Blunt. London.

ON THE AGRICULTURE OF ITALY.

In prefixing this title to the present chapter, I do not wish to create an expectation that I am about to enter upon an essay on the existing state of agriculture in Italy and Sicily in all its details. To attempt such a subject would lead me far beyond the limits that I have prescribed myself; for I have not professed to do more than record some of those points of coincidence between ancient and modern times which present themselves to the mind of a classical traveller whilst wandering in these countries. Extensive then as the subject of agriculture itself is, the points to which I allude may yet be few. Indeed, there is nothing in relations between landlord and tenant, in methods of cultivation, or in implements used for that purpose, but what will be changed without scruple whenever convenience suggests an alteration. Now in the course of sixteen or eighteen hundred years it is probable that convenience would induce many such changes to be made. Had the countries of which I am treating been in a state of gradual improvement, it is certain that very few vestiges of ancient agricultural practices would now remain. And whoever will take the trouble of comparing the present condition of farms and farming in England, with that which existed but half a century ago, will be satisfied of the truth of this observation. In matters of religion, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Italy found themselves urged, by all the strongest passions of our nature, to hold fast the rites in which from infancy they had been brought up; so that even had not these been more numerous than any peculiarities which attached to their system of agriculture (which they were), still it is probable that a greater proportion of them would have descended, more or less entire, to our own times.

In the north of Italy, which comprises the Austrian transalpine possessions, part of those of Sardinia, and the duchies, agriculture is far from being neglected; and the same is true of some districts in the Neapolitan dominions. But a great portion of the papal territory west of the Appennines is in a state of miserable desolation, well harmonizing with the withered old age of the capital itself. The country between Sienna and Rome is meagerly peopled, generally open, sometimes, indeed, covered with wild entangled thickets; but very rarely intersected by a hedge or fence. Around the immortal

city stretches in every direction the brown and bleak and forsaken Campagna; a few flocks of ragged sheep collecting a scanty subsistence upon it from furrows, which may have been made some years past, and which since have relapsed into grass and weed; with an unprotected patch of corn occasionally presenting itself, not enough to redeem the prospect in general from the name of a desert, but sufficing to render, by its contrast and extent, as compared with the whole, sterility still more sterile. Within three miles of the capital itself the roads are as unfrequented and the landscape as joyless, as in the approach to the meanest town in the principality of Wales. The same tract of country prevails from Rome to Terracina. The Pomptine marshes, though at present more fertile than the rest, exhale, like almost the whole of the Campagna, that unwholesome air which is alike the effect and the cause of so utter a want of population. Even in Rome itself, no sooner is a street deserted by its inhabitants than it becomes subject to this scourge, however comparatively healthy it may have been before. The Lung' Ara, though consisting of excellent houses, and built with great regularity and attention to ventilation, is an instance in point. In consequence of a constant diminution of the inhabitants of Rome, and the tendency of those which are left to press towards the centre of the city, this quarter has lost its population, and with it its salubrity. The north of Italy has small districts in which this corruption of the air is found, as in the neighbourhood of Bologna, and the plain between Alexandria and Villa Franca. It is therefore highly probable, that the cultivation and consequent population of Piedmont, Venetian Lombardy, and the duchies, prevent them from experiencing it in the same calamitous degree as the greater part of the papal states. Naples again, though so much farther south than Rome, but situated in a well cultivated country, is exempt from this malady.

My object in thus mentioning the malaria is to show that the general appearance of Italy, under the Roman Emperors, was pretty much the same as at this day: for if the unwholesomeness of the air can be taken as a proof of a want of cultivation (which I think it may), then the existence of the same evil to the same extent in ancient Italy, would imply a system of agriculture defective to the same degree as at present.

Pliny then, when he lays down certain rules for the purchase of lands, cautions his countrymen in the very outset against such as are situated in a corrupt air. "Attilius Regulus," says he, "used to declare, that the most prolific soils with a bad atmosphere, or most sterile with a good one, are equally objectionable; that the salubrity of a country cannot always be ascertained by the complexion of the natives; for that by habit the most pestilential situations may be endured. That some districts may be healthy during one part of the year which are not so during another; but that those only should be reckoned wholesome which continue uninfected the whole year through." (*Plin.* xxviii. 5.) From the importance which the naturalist attaches to this caution, and from the care with which it is expressed, it seems clear that it was applicable to a large proportion of the lands which might be bought and sold in Italy.

Further, from the same author we learn, that "many persons believed the Syrophœnician wind to be so noxious at Rome on account

of its bringing with it the putrid exhalations of the Pomptine marshes." (iii. 5.) And yet they had been drained by Appius Claudius, and again by Augustus.

Lucan, in enumerating the various calamities which make man their prey, and to glut which those who fell in the battle of Pharsalia would have sufficed, places in the first rank a "pestilential air." (*Lib. 7.*)

Eustace produces several authorities to prove the prevalence of the malaria in ancient Italy. From Strabo (*lib. 5.*) it appears, that the coasts of Latium were unwholesome. From Pliny the younger, that the same was the case in some parts of Etruria. (*Lib. v. Ep. 6.*) From Tacitus, that the effluvia exhaled in the neighbourhood of the Collis Vaticanus actually proved fatal to persons who exposed themselves to its effects. (*Tac. Hist. ii. 93.*)

From all this it should seem that the general aspect of Italy has not undergone any very violent change. But this is not the only argument in confirmation of such a supposition.

Livy expressly mentions the deserted condition of the country once occupied by the Æqui and Volsci, and has much difficulty in reconciling it with the armies sent forth by those tribes in the days of their contests with Rome (*Liv. v. vi. p. 169*); and yet this district was not more than fifty miles from the capital.

It was a task imposed upon Virgil by Augustus, to rouse the people of Italy from the contempt for agriculture which was every where displayed; and accordingly we hear the poet complaining that the peasants had forsaken the fields for the camp, "*Squalent abductis arva colonis.*"

We know that nearly the whole of the corn which was consumed at Rome was imported from Sardinia, Africa, and Sicily. By the last, Cicero asserts that the state was actually kept alive; a proof, by the way, that that island has greatly declined in fertility, whatever Italy may have done, though still it grows much more than enough for its own consumption. Tacitus, who expresses himself forcibly on all occasions, is on none more indignant than on the subject of the importation of corn. "It appeared," says he, "that not more food than was sufficient to support the city fifteen days remained; and it was only through the mildness of the winter, and the great mercy of the Gods, that it was preserved from extremities. Yet, by Hercules, time was, when Italy exported corn to the most remote of her provinces. Still, however, is she not sterile; but we prefer bestowing our labour upon Africa and Egypt, and trusting the existence of the Roman people to accident and a ship." (*Annal. xii. 43.*) This was in the reign of Claudius.

It is the want of cultivation and the consequent scarcity of inhabitants, that gives occasion to the necessity of disposing pickets of soldiers at small distances along some of the principal high-roads of Italy. Not that their protection is of any very great value to the traveller, if we are to believe the rhyme,

Sette soldati del Papa
Non sono buoni per cavar una rapa.

But however this may be, a similar measure of precaution obtained under the emperors in the same country; and therefore, by reasoning conversely, it is a fact that would come in aid of my opinion, that the

territories of Augustus or Tiberius presented an aspect very little differing from that which is now exhibited by those of Pius VII. "Numbers of banditti," says Seutonius in his *Life of Augustus*, "made no secret of appearing in arms under the pretence of self-defence; upon whom a check was placed, by stationing parties of soldiers in convenient positions." (*Sueton. Octav.* 32.) The same author, in describing the events of the reign of Tiberius, informs us, "that he paid particular attention to maintaining the peace of the country against seditious persons, highwaymen, and banditti, by increasing the number of stations for troops throughout Italy." (*Tib.* 37.)

So much for the want of cultivation.

Again, I took notice that there are at present very few inclosures in Italy; and I suspect that anciently there were not more. For this reason it was, that the flocks were always attended by shepherds. Tityrus and Menalcas would have had something else to do than sit under a beech-tree and blow their rustic reeds, if a want of hedges had not rendered their services indispensable to prevent the goats from straying.

So when Virgil speaks of the necessity of keeping the bulls apart from the rest of the herd, he does not depend upon a fence for the separation, but upon distance, upon a mountain, or upon a river: and in case these natural obstacles could not be met with, then were they to be confined in the stalls.

Atque ideo tauros procul atque in sola relegant
Pascua, post montem oppositum, et trans flumina lata:
Aut intus clausos satura ad præsepia servant.

Georg. iii. 212.

The youthful bull must wander in the wood,
Behind the mountain, or beyond the flood:
Or in the stall at home his fodder find,
Far from the charms of that alluring kind.

DRYDEN.

Further, amongst the indications of spirit in a young horse, which the poet numbers up, that of rushing over the hedges which imprison him, is not even hinted at. He is to be leader in every enterprise; he is to brave the threatening torrent, and trust himself to the untried bridge. Surely the same animal would have been described as

"At one slight bound,
High overleaping all bound,"

had any such existed.

By the laws of the twelve tables, a person arrived at years of discretion who pastured his herds at night in his neighbour's corn was subject to capital punishment; which, though not a proof, is a presumption that there were no inclosures.

Indeed, the simple fact of Terminus being exalted into a deity, and his festival annually observed with great circumspection (to say nothing of that distinguished honour which was paid him, when, to make room for the temple of Jupiter Olympius in the Capitol, the seat of every god except Terminus was removed,) is in itself strong ground for supposing that the boundaries of property were only known from memory, assisted by terminal statues, and observances renewed at stated points of time.

Tools of husbandry in Italy are in a very unimproved condition; and whilst our agriculturists are debating and determining the comparative merits of the Scotch and English ploughs, those of the Italians and Sicilians remain as rude in their construction as they were in the days of the poet of the *Georgics*. Instead of the double handle which belongs to those of our own country, and by means of which they may be guided with so much more precision, the single stale or "*buris*" of the Romans is invariably adopted. The "*binæ aures*" are two strips of wood attached to the share, (which also is often made of the same material,) about eighteen inches long, diverging a little from each other, and inclined to the earth at a convenient angle for laying open the furrow.

There is another sort of plough in common use. It differs from the last in this, that the "*buris*" is made to have a slight inclination towards the line of draught, instead of towards the ploughman; but does not, however, deviate much from the perpendicular. From the point where it unites with the share there is a small projecting ledge, upon which the husbandman stands; maintains his position by grasping the handle; and thus is drawn along the field with a regular and equable motion. The advantage of this method of tilling arises from the depth of soil turned up by the plough, which must necessarily bury itself much lower in consequence of being so heavily weighted.

The inartificial implement is of very great antiquity. A figure of such a one drawn by a pair of dragons is preserved on the reverse of a medal of Enna in Sicily, and on some others—(*Vide Hunter's Medals, plate xxv. n. 23*)—though the little foot-board for the ploughman is not very distinct in these specimens, perhaps from the execution being indifferent. Hence we may possibly discover new force in the expression "*incumbere aratro*;" for when the body of the husbandman is thrown forwards, additional pressure of course is given to the point of the share; whereas in one of another construction, it would have precisely the contrary effect.

When the labour of the day is at an end, the plough is reversed; the share is made to catch upon the yoke of the animals that draw it, and with the end of the "*temo*" trailing along the ground, it is conveyed home. Who does not here recognise the "*versa jugo aratra*" of the Romans?

Tempus erat quo versa jugo referuntur aratra.

Ov. Fast. v. 497.

What time the lab'ring hind from toil released,
The plough reversing, yokes it to his beast.

It may be here added, that after the wheat has been sown in drills, persons are almost always employed to knock the clods to pieces by hand, agreeably to the suggestions of the poet,

Quid dicam, jacto qui semine cominus arva
Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis arenæ?

Georg. i. 104.

The seed now sown, I praise the farmer's toil,
Who breaks and scatters the reluctant soil.

These are illustrations of the classics which, if not valuable, are at

least amusing; and I am persuaded that the best commentary upon half the Latin authors is afforded a careful observer by Italy itself.

I am not aware that horses were much employed for the plough in ancient Italy, nor are they still. To the patient ox that country has always owed her chief fertility.

There is another province in husbandry to which it is yet devoted, that of treading out the corn. I have seen a pair of these animals yoked to a heavy ribbed roller, which they continually drew round a circular threshing-floor. The grain was thus separated from the chaff, by the united effects of the bruises of the roller, and the trampling of the oxen.

Columella mentions the very same practice in his own times, recommending the use of the "*tribula*," (an instrument for the same purpose, and of the same form as the roller,) whenever the number of oxen, or horses (which he prefers) was not sufficient to tread the corn out. (*Columell*, ii. 22.) It is true that the flail is not superseded by this process, nor was it heretofore; for the same agricultural author in the very next sentence, speaks of its use under the name of "*fustis*."

It may here be proper to remark, that the threshing-floors of Italy are not like our own, made of oaken planks and enclosed in a building; but such is the dryness of the soil, and serenity of the climate, that some level spot of ground, free from grass and of a firm surface, having been selected, the operation itself is carried on in the open air.—Here is another vestige of ancient husbandry.

Area cum primis ingenti æquanda cylindro,
Et vertenda manu, et cretâ solidanda tenaci,
Ne subeant herbx, neu pulvere victa fatiscat, &c.

Georg. i. 178.

Delve of convenient depth your threshing-floor;
With temper'd clay then fill and face it o'er:
And let the weighty roller run the round,
To smooth the surface of the unequal ground;
Lest crack'd with summer heats the flooring flies,
Or sinks, and through the crannies weeds arise.

DRYDEN.

The manner of cultivating the vine in Italy, though differing from the more approved method of France, Switzerland, and Germany, is the very same as that which was in use amongst the Romans. To marry it with the maple, the elm, or the poplar, is certainly far more picturesque than to cut it down annually, and support its renovated shoots by poles of four feet long. The superiority, however, of the latter practice, with a view to the quality of the juice of the grape, is manifest from the superior excellence of the wines in the countries where it is followed; and, indeed, the more powerful influence of the sun upon the fruit, obtained partly by its reflection from the earth upon the branches, which in this case cannot be raised much above the surface, and partly from the absence of boughs to impede its approach, could not avoid producing the most favourable consequences. The Italian, however, adheres to a usage sanctioned by his forefathers:

Atque adultâ vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.

His marriageable vines
Around the lofty bridegroom elm he twines.

FRANCIS.

And who would not willingly compromise for a wine of somewhat inferior flavour, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the fantastic branches of the vine twisting themselves about the arms of the trees which sustain them, and hanging in graceful festoons along successive avenues?

There is one advantage derived from this plan, and one by no means inconsiderable in a country possessing so little pasture land as Italy; that the foliage of the trees of the vineyard supplies a quantity of green food for the cattle. Persons mount into them and pluck off the leaves when they are sufficiently expanded, into bags; a process which has the additional merit of laying open the clusters to the sun.

It was not until I observed this practice in Italy that I understood the exact meaning of several passages in the Eclogues of Virgil.—That in the first, for instance,

Hinc altâ sub rupe canet frondator ad auras—

Virg. Ec. i. 57.

While from the neighbouring rocks, with rural songs,
The pruner's voice the pleasing dream prolongs—

DRYDEN.

or that in the ninth,

Hic, ubi densas

Agricolæ stringunt frondes—

Where hinds are stripping the luxuriant leaves—

where the husbandmen are described as employed, not merely in dressing the vine itself, but in stripping off the leaves of the elm upon which it rested. In the line

Semiputata tibi frondosâ vitis in ulmo est—

Ec. ii. 70.

Half pruned thy vine, and leafy is thy elm—

I had been accustomed to think, that the reproach of neglect was conveyed in the word, "semiputata," the plant had been left half-pruned; but it is no less implied in the expression "frondosa," which is not on this occasion an idle epithet connected with the elm, but is intended to signify that the operation of plucking the foliage from it had been disregarded, as well as that of dressing the vine.

It appears from Cato (*de Re Rusticâ*), that the purpose for which these leaves then served was the same as that for which they are used now. "Give to your oxen," says he, "the leaves of the elm, the poplar, the oak, and the fig, as long as you have them;" and he offers the same advice with respect to sheep. (*Rei Rusticæ Auctores. Ed. Ludg. 1548, p. 33.*)

It was formerly common to put the must into goat-skins. Thus tumid, tied by the four corners at the setting off of the legs, and stripped of the hair, they wore very much the appearance of well fed sucking pigs. An excellent antique bronze figure of Silenus, sitting astride upon one of these primitive barrels, was found at Herculaneum, and is now exhibited in the Studiî at Naples. I have noticed

the same practice still existing in several parts of Italy. At Genoa, in particular, I remember seeing the steps of a church loaded with such receptacles for wine.

With regard to the propagation of the vine, it is effected by cuttings, that are planted in trenches of four feet deep, into which stones have been previously thrown for the purpose of encouraging moisture about the roots. It is evident how exactly this system accords with the recommendation of the poet:

Quæcumque premes virgulta per agros,
Sparge fimo pingui, et multâ memor occulle terrâ:
Aut lapidem bibulum, aut squalentes infode conchas,
Inter enim labentur aquæ.

Georg. ii. 346.

For what remains, in depth of earth secure
Thy cover'd plants, and dung with hot manure;
And shells and gravel in the ground inclose,
For through their hollow chinks the water flows.

DRYDEN.

The present method of raising the olive in Italy must not be passed over. An old tree is hewn down, and the "ceppo," or stock, is cut into pieces of nearly the size and shape of a mushroom, and which from that circumstance are called "novoli;" care at the same time is taken that a small portion of bark shall belong to each "novolo." These, after having been dipped in manure, are put into the earth, soon throw up shoots, are transplanted at the end of one year, and in three years are fit to form an olive-yard.

This process clears up satisfactorily, I think, a passage in the *Georgics* on which many comments have been made:

Quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu,
Truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno.

Georg. ii. 30.

The stock in slices cut, and forth shall shoot,
O passing strange! from each dry slice a root.

I shall conclude what I have to say upon the subject of agriculture, by describing the system of letting lands in Italy and Sicily, which appears to have been derived from very ancient times.

It is true that no single method is universally adopted; on the contrary, the tenures in those countries vary perhaps in their nature no less than in our own; but the one I am about to mention is by far the most general.

The landlord, whose passion for a town life permits him but seldom to visit his estate, appoints some trusty person, called a "fattore," or factor, to reside upon it with a fixed salary. It is the business of this fattore to parcel out the lands amongst the families who live upon it, assigning to each a division proportioned to the number of hands it can muster; such a division is called a "Podere,"—the occupiers "Contadini." The rent is one-half of the produce, be it corn, wine, oil, maize, beans, or any other crop. The stock, as the oxen for husbandry, in the first instance is supplied by the landlord, or "padrone," for so he is named; if it is sold, the surplus above, or the deficit below the prime cost, is shared equally by the padrone and contadino; if it dies, the whole loss is in like manner equally sustained by the two

parties. Animals for feeding, as pigs, &c. are bought from a common purse, and, when killed, are common property. In stock of less value, as in fowls, eggs, &c. the landlord usually stipulates for a certain number from each podere annually. I should add, that the taxes, whatever they are to which the land is subject, are paid by the landlord alone; that he advances half the seed, half the manure which it may be necessary to buy, and is at the sole expense of repairs and improvements.—Meanwhile it is the factor's duty (and that no easy one, surrounded as he is by temptations to dishonesty, and required to detect abuses so capable of concealment), to watch over the interest of his employer, and to exact of the peasant the fair fulfilment of the conditions to which he has pledged himself.

Now we find Columella recommending to all proprietors who did not reside upon their estates a similar disposition of them, in preference to retaining them in their own hands, and cultivating them by means of slaves. And his reason is this, that unless the landlord is on the spot to correct mismanagement, the slaves "hire out his oxen; neglect to give the flocks food; till the ground carelessly; and assert that they have sown more seed than is true." (*Columell. i. 8.*) At the same time he advises him not to be too rigid in requiring payment of wood and other trifles, to which he had, no doubt, a legitimate claim. (*i. 7.*)

Again, Pliny the younger, after having mentioned in one of his epistles that he had been cheated in his rents, goes on to say, "that the only remedy was to receive them in kind instead of money; and appoint persons in whom he could confide as overseers of the crops." "Besides," adds he, "no species of rent can be more just than that which is paid by the earth, the air, and the season." (*Plin. Ep. ix. 37.*)

Horace's little Sabine farm appears to have been cultivated upon this plan. He had a villicus, or "fattore," who seems to have superintended the five families of contadini, amongst whom it was parcelled out:

Villice sylvarum, et mihi me reddentes agelli
Quem tu fastidis, habitatum quinque focis.

Ep. i. 14. 1.

Steward of my woods and farms! a peaceful scene,
Which gives me quiet, and which gives thee spleen;
Till'd by five rustic households.

The "fattore," therefore, of the Italians, answers to the "procurator," or "exactor," or "villicus," of past times; the tenants, or "contadini," to the "coloni," or "actores." (*Vide Plin. Epist. iii. 19.—ix. 37. Columell. i. 8.*) I have not, however, been able to discover whether the moiety of the crop was the proportion formerly assigned to the landlord, nor whether in all the points of detail the ancient and modern systems coincide.

The method of gathering in kind seems also to have been established in Judea. For we may recollect, that in our Saviour's parable of the vineyard, "the man who let it out to husbandmen," sent a servant, not to demand payment in money, but "to receive of the fruit."

Before I close this chapter, it may be well to observe, that the expedient, to which the needy proprietors of Italy and Sicily now so

generally resort, of forestalling their vintages by several years, and disposing of them to the best bidder, is as old as the days of Pliny the younger. (*Ep.* viii. 2.) The advantage which the British capitalist, who is "occupying his business" in these parts of the Mediterranean as a merchant, derives from such purchases is incalculable; the necessity of a present supply, however small, particularly in countries where no credit is given, often obliging the indolent or extravagant man of fortune to sell his birth-right for almost a mess of pottage. For, amongst other customs of their ancestors, that of demanding payment of debts on the first of every month under pain of arrest, is retained by some of the modern Italians; and I was assured by a Roman gentleman with very great feeling, that the epithet "*tristes*" was never more applicable to the calends than at this moment.

ON THE TOWNS, HOUSES, UTENSILS, &c. OF THE ITALIANS AND SICILIANS.

The ancient, like the modern inhabitants of Italy, ever preferred a town to a country life. The splendour of their sacrifices, the amusements of their amphitheatre and circus, the luxuries of their baths, the greetings in their market-places, have been succeeded by a magnificent mass, an opera, caffès, gambling-rooms, and a resort to the piazzas and corso. The pleasures of the city cannot be resigned for a pure air, which an Italian regards not; a prospect of vineyards and olive-groves, of mountain and valley and stream, for which he has no taste; for the chase, in which he seldom partakes; for agriculture, which he despises; or for the domestic delights to be found within the walls of his own villa, and the circle of his own family, which he knows not how to appreciate: and yet the towns of Italy seem at no period to have worn that appearance of wealth or comfort which might have been expected from the constant and decided preference given them as places of residence. From the opportunity which the discovery and excavation of Pompeii has afforded us of ascertaining the plan upon which they were built of old, as well as the articles with which the houses were stored, many connecting links between ancient and modern times may be now accurately traced, which were but partially known before.

In the present construction of the towns in Italy and Sicily, there may in general be remarked three characteristic particulars: very narrow streets; numerous and spacious squares or piazzas; and a multitude of churches. The first, perhaps, intended as a protection against the sun; of the other two, the one is accommodated to those public daily meetings or *conversazioni*, of which the Italians are so fond; the other, to that attention to religious duties, for which, as a people, they are so distinguished.

The same features present themselves in a general view of Pompeii. Its streets are not more than thirteen feet wide, two causeways included; and though a very small part of the city has been hitherto developed, yet three piazzas have been discovered, the dimensions of two of which are very considerable, and no less than five temples. It exhibits indications too of the same gregarious habits as are still conspicuous. Numerous stone benches with backs have been cleared, some situated in such a manner as to receive the breezes wafted from

the sea, and some near the more bustling and lively quarter of the city-gate. If we may judge from the *Strada degli Sepolchri* at Syracuse, which yet remains, cut through the rock, and affords the imagination an opportunity of amusing itself, like the Roman orator, with singling out the tomb of Archimedes, the streets of that town were not wider than those of Pompeii: whilst from the specimen of the one which passes between the temple of Jupiter Tonans and Concord at Rome, as well as from the express testimony of Juvenal, the capital itself does not seem to have been exempt from the same charge:

*Rhedarum transitus arcto
Vicorum inflexu, et stantis convicia mandræ
Eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.*
Sat. iii. 236.

The carts loud rumbling through the narrow way,
The drivers' clamours at each casual stay,
From drowsy Drusus would his slumbers take,
And keep the calves of Proteus broad awake.

GIFFORD.

In the heavy rains to which these climates are exposed, the streets, from their extreme narrowness, as well as from the inclination which the sides are made to have towards the middle, are almost converted into canals. To meet this inconvenience, moveable wooden bridges are provided in the towns of the south of Italy and in Sicily. It may be observed that large unwieldy stepping-stones, rising a foot above the level of the pavement, answered the same purpose at Pompeii.

Again, the houses of this ancient city of Campania commonly consist of one or more cloistered courts, out of which are the entrances to the several small apartments that surround them. They do not appear in any case to have exceeded two stories, and are generally not more than one in height.

This court form then, is almost invariably preserved in the modern palaces of the same country, which differ, however, from those of Pompeii in their loftiness and magnificence. At the same time, Rome could have furnished some, which in these respects might have stood in competition with the most splendid. In Juvenal we read of the third story of a house being on fire, and it may be collected from the context, that there was at least a fourth. Moreover, the furniture which was consumed in it is a proof that galleries of pictures and statues were then as necessary an appendage to a man of wealth as they are now. Indeed, Augustus made a law against building houses in future higher than seventy Roman feet, about sixty-four English (*Vide Sueton. August. 89. Ed. Delph.*); a circumstance which implies that many exceeded that limit. Those of Pompeii retain perhaps somewhat of the Grecian character; the Greek houses being still, and having ever been, of small elevation.

It has long been a matter of dispute among antiquaries, whether glass was used by the Romans for windows. From the common employment of it for that purpose at present, and from the certainty that the substance itself was known to the ancients, and actually served for phials, it seemed to follow that it was probable it must have been applied to the more important object of transmitting light. The fact, however, was not satisfactorily proved before the late excavations at Pompeii, when some pieces of window-glass, one of which was about

eighteen inches square, were discovered. I had not an opportunity of personally examining these specimens when I was at Naples; for, together with some other curiosities, they were locked up in the receptacle of those Pompeian relics which had not then been brought under public inspection; but I was assured of the truth of the circumstance by one who had seen them, and whose veracity I had no reason to doubt. Glass, however, seems after all to have been rarely used. Shutters (*Plin. Epist. ix. 13.*) or the lapis specularis, which was probably that exfoliating transparent stone now called talc, having supplied its place. Of the latter, pieces have been found at Pompeii which have evidently served for windows. In the villages and small towns of Sicily, glass is still very sparingly substituted for shutters.

Again, the absence of hearths and chimneys in the houses in the south of Italy and in Sicily does not fail to attract the notice of a traveller coming from a country in the latitude of Great Britain. The climate certainly does not render those comforts unnecessary, for no people are more sensible to the slightest variation of temperature than the Italians; none make a more plentiful use of cloaks and warm clothing, and none would be less disposed than they to part with such means of defending themselves against the cold as they have received from their ancestors; for I believe that they would rather shiver than innovate. It is not, therefore, without reason a matter of surprise, that so manifest a convenience as a chimney has not been adopted.

A brasier filled with charcoal, and set in the middle of the room, or under the table whilst you dine, to emit its fumes without any tunnel to carry them off, is certainly less pleasant as well as less wholesome than a grate; but such has ever been the custom in Italy, and perhaps for that reason such it continues to be still. Not a chimney is to be found in Pompeii, but brasiers innumerable, of exactly the same form as those now in use, and some of them filled with the identical charcoal which was burning in them when the city was overwhelmed.

The method too of rendering the exhalations from these brasiers less offensive is further remarkable, because it furnishes another instance of coincidence, sugar having succeeded the bitumen which was heretofore thrown into them to create a grateful perfume, and of which a portion is preserved in the museum at Naples.

Another contrivance against the cold which the Italians and Sicilians adopt, is to carry about with them a small vessel containing living charcoal, called a scaldina. It is in the shape of a basket, and, when used by the wealthier citizens, is of copper; the poor are satisfied with those of earthen-ware. This utensil they sometimes place before them upon the table, sometimes at their feet, or on their knees, till warmth has been communicated to all parts of the body in detail, whilst the careful housewife hangs at her waist a long bodkin, with which she stirs up from time to time the sleeping embers.

I have no doubt the "*prunæ batillum*" of Horace's friend, the prætor of Fundi, was an implement of the same kind. (*Sat. i. 5. 36.*)

Further, it is usual for the Neapolitans to decorate the exterior of their houses with landscapes, and, from the general dryness of the atmosphere, they do not suffer any very rapid decay.

The very same thing was done by the citizens of Pompeii, of which plentiful proof exists still in that interesting town.

But this is not all: it was ever a source of great amusement to me

to observe the doors of caffè-keepers, barbers, tailors, tradesmen, in short, of every description, surmounted by very tolerable pictures indicating their respective occupations. Thus at a surgeon and apothecary's, for instance, I have seen a series of paintings, displaying a variety of cases to which the doctor is applying his healing hand. In one, he is extracting a tooth; in another, administering an emetic; in a third, bandaging an arm or leg.

It is singular that an abundance of similar signs have been found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Thus that of a school is exhibited in the royal museum at Portici. It represents the master in the act of flogging an unfortunate urchin, who is mounted on the back of one of his companions, whilst a second maintains firm hold of his legs, to prevent resistance—(so classical is this method of flagellation!)—meanwhile his friends on the benches watch the process with evident scepticism respecting their own safety. Again, a shoemaker calls the attention of the public by a picture of himself at work; his shop filled with idlers, making their demands, and observing the progress of his labours; so ancient and respectable a claim has the cobbler's stall to the gossip of his neighbours. In short, both these and others contained such amusing histories as are often conveyed in Dutch paintings.

It may be further stated of the shops, that in form and situation those in ancient times, and those at present existing, are greatly alike. Consisting of one room without windows, but perfectly open to the street, and furnished with folding-doors, they resemble, more than any thing else to which they can be compared, an English coach-house; and as such shops as these now very commonly stand on the right and left of the entrance-gate to a gentleman's or nobleman's house, of which they occupy the ground front; so in some of the best mansions in Pompeii they have the very same position. Witness that of Sallust (as it is called), at the door of which is a shop for wine and oil. In truth, so many similar objects arrest the eye at Naples and Pompeii, that on a visit to the latter it is hardly possible to feel convinced that these two cities, separated in distance by only twelve miles, are separated in time by upwards of seventeen centuries; so much the same are the habits of men at every period, whilst under the influence of the same circumstances.

It certainly might have been presumed that custom-houses were established in the towns of ancient Italy, as the traveller finds to his cost they are at this day; but the fact may now be asserted with little fear of contradiction, one building apparently for that purpose, and provided with weights of all degrees of size, having been discovered at Pompeii.

It might not have been disputed again, that bills and proclamations were posted about the streets of old in the same manner as they are now; and yet it is not without satisfaction, mingled with something like surprise at the antiquity of so obvious a custom, that we see scrawled in red character on the walls of that disinterred city an advertisement, "that a bath and nine hundred shops,* belonging to a certain lady named Julia Felix, are to be let for five years;" "that on the 16th of May there was to be a show of gladiators in the theatre, which would be covered with a veil;" "that Numicius Pompidius

* *Nongentum tabernæ.*

Rufus was to exhibit, on the 29th of October, a combat with wild beasts."

If again we fancy for a moment the furniture, implements, and utensils, which would be brought to light in our own houses and shops, supposing them to be overwhelmed, and then laid open some centuries hence, we might conjecture that many of the same description must have belonged to those of a nation so civilized as the Romans; but still it is pleasing to ascertain, from a testimony which cannot deceive us, the evidence of the relics themselves, that they had scales very little differing from our own, silver spoons, knives but no forks, gridirons, spits, frying-pans, scissors, needles, instruments of surgery, such as knives of several forms, catheters, spatulas, hooks for extracting the dead fetus, forceps, lancets, syringes, saws, and many more, all made of a very fine brass; that they had hammers, and picks, and compasses, and iron-crows, all of which were met with in a statuary's shop; that they had stamps which they used, as well for other purposes, as for impressing the name of its owner on bread before it was sent to the oven. Thus on a loaf still preserved is legible, "*Siligo C. Glanii*," this is Caius Glanius' loaf. Many of their seals were formed in like manner of an oblong piece of metal, stamped with the letters of the motto; instruments very similar to those used in England for marking linen. Thus possessed of types and of ink, how little were the Romans removed from the discovery of the art and advantages of printing! What speculations instantly suggest themselves on the probable consequences of such an event! Whether, on account of the number of copies that would have been struck off, we should not have received all the authors of a classical date entire? Whether the dark ages, properly so called, would have existed at all? Whether the learning which the clergy monopolised, and the exclusive possession of which was the parent of so much priestcraft and so many abuses, would not have been diffused throughout society at large, and have rendered mankind incapable of being made the dupes of such artifice? Whether the human intellect, under the operation of such favourable excitements, and the constant impulse of information accumulated through a succession of ages, would not by this time have arrived at a degree of perfection, of which we can have no idea?

Amongst the many sources of pleasure which a visit to Italy affords, I know not that any is more prolific than the opportunity it offers of thus examining more closely the ancient state of society in that country, and of introducing ourselves into the domestic circle of a race of people, whom the lapse of time and the glories of history have so splendidly consecrated; almost persuading us, against our better judgment, that such men could not have thought, and acted, and spoke, like the beings of this nether world, amongst whom our lot has been cast. By a nearer acquaintance however with them, the spell is broken; and the more that acquaintance is improved, the more, I am convinced, shall we find that they resembled their present descendants.

FROM THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

LETTER FROM A BASHFUL BACHELOR.

"Therefore, let Benedict, like covered fire,
Consume away in sighs, waste inwardly;
It were a better death than die with mocks,
Which is as bad as die with tickling."

MR. EDITOR,—I fear that but few of your readers will remember the "*Cavalier seul*" who once made your magazine the medium of conveying his complaints and expostulations to the dancing world. I cannot say that my remonstrances produced any improvement in my fate: the gentlemen are still condemned to an occasional *pas seul*, and the only change in the rules of the quadrille is that which subjects the ladies, in their turn, to the same awful and conspicuous solitude. This has but extended the misery I wished to remove, without diminishing, in the slightest degree, my individual distress. The blushes of two or three timid girls (few London ball-rooms are graced by so many) afford me no consolation; and till fashion has effected its usual changes, and sent this odious quadrille to mourn over departed greatness, in company with the ghosts of country-dances, hoops, pig-tails, and kaleidoscopes, I must be content to be classed amongst the lame, the idle, the dis-obliging, or the philosophical spectators, who are of no use at a ball, except to take up room and eat ice.

The subject upon which I now address you is of infinitely greater importance: yet here, alas! I expect not relief; sympathy is all I ask, sympathy from a few unfortunate beings, branded, like myself, with the ineffaceable stamp of bashfulness. Mr. Editor, how am I ever to get married? Where shall I acquire the requisite portion of heroism and effrontery? A shy man married is to me a more stupendous, incomprehensible, unanswerable proof of the power of love, than any other which the history of the world can produce. Hercules with his distaff, Antony "teaching cowards to run," Cimon's brightened intellect, Orlando's furies, are trifling exhibitions of Cupid's potency, compared with that which he must exercise ere a man of my unhappy constitution is bound in the fetters of Hymen. In the first place, how am I to ingratiate myself with any woman—I, who blush when I try to gaze, stammer when I wish to compliment, and whose timid gallantries generally terminate in depositing a cup of coffee in the lady's lap, treading on her delicate little foot, or carrying off with me two or three yards of flounce, when I hasten, with nervous precipitation, to execute some trifling command? Sighing is the only duty of an undeclared lover which I should be able to perform; but sighing needs the explanatory accompaniments of admiring glances and tender whispers, or it may be mistaken for the symptom of a guilty conscience, or a disordered stomach. Solitary, abstract, unappropriated sighing, is like a love-letter without a superscription, or a serenade performed in the middle of Russell-square—it tells no secret, it pleads no cause, and may be claimed by any one but the right person. Long acquaintance, however, might perhaps interest some kind heart in my favour: I take two years to ask a lady to drink wine, about four ere I presume to offer her my arm when walking out, and at the end of seven I might possibly be prepared to make a tender of a more serious nature, to pass that

Rubicon which has terrified many a heart of bolder materials than mine. On one point I have taken a decided resolution—I should convey my proposals by letter. Ill would it become me to attempt a personal declaration; I should blush more than the sex who are privileged to blush as much as they can on these occasions, and should extinguish any glimmering partiality by appearing ridiculous. Ridicule is the most bitter enemy of love: they never meet without a death-blow being given to one of the parties. Blame a man's morals, principles, or temper, and woman loves on with amiable constancy;—laugh at the shape of his nose, or his manner of making a bow, discover in him something to *quizz*, and strong indeed is the affection which does not speedily cool.

A brother of mine (shyness is a family distemper) lost a wife by venturing on the rash measure of a *virâ voce* offer. He was walking up a fine mountain in Westmoreland with a lady whom he much admired, and whose manners had been far from discouraging. The evening was remarkably beautiful, the views were enchanting, outward circumstances gave a sudden impetus to his passion, an unnatural boldness came upon him, and he dashed into a declaration of love. But, alas! too soon the deceitful inspiration failed, his own nature resumed its ascendancy, he stammered forth his vows in broken and unintelligible murmurs, and, covered with confusion, was unobservant of his mountain-path, and fell down twice before he had completed his offer. At the first slip the lady blushed on, and maintained her gravity—my brother shook the dust from his clothes, and did not despair;—the second time, his hat fell off, and was carried away by the wind, he was obliged to run in pursuit of it: the shrill notes of female laughter were borne after him on the breeze; they sounded in his ears the knell of all his tender hopes. Too truly he guessed his fate: on his return, breathless as he was, he attempted to renew the interesting subject; but the lady was no longer blushing or confused, a smile was yet lurking on her lips, and he was civilly rejected.

Let the offer, however, be made; let that word be spoken to which the Chinese proverb may be applied with peculiar truth, “a word once let fall cannot be fetched back by a chariot and six horses;” let it be favourably received, and flirtation changed into courtship, still the most fearful part of the affair is yet to come. If I might at once bear my bride away, take but one step from my proposals to my nuptials, all would be comparatively easy. During the wedding ceremony, observation is monopolized by the lady—her looks, her words, her dress, her flutterings, are watched by every eye; and the bridegroom, without the appendages of white satin, a lace veil, tears, or a smelling bottle, has little to attract attention, and if he does but speak the responses intelligibly, and put the ring on the proper finger, may slip through the most important act of his life with little notice or distinction. But there is an awful interval (which the lady loves to lengthen) between acceptance and matrimony; and the more I consider my own character and capabilities, the more convinced I feel that I could not possibly pass the ordeal of courtship with tolerable credit and respectability. Reflect on the labours, the assiduities, the parading, the exhibitings of the novice which precedes our entrance into those gates, which bear not the accommodating inscription, “*si delectat maneat, si tædet abeat.*” I had begun to think rather seriously of marriage, but a few

weeks passed in the same house with an engaged couple convinced me, that however delightful the temple of Hymen may be when you are fairly within it, its approaches are infinitely too difficult for a bashful man. Surely when the Moravians teach their disciples to hold themselves in submissive readiness for those three perilous services, "a journey, death, and matrimony," it is of the previous preparations for the latter that they more especially think. An engaged lover is an object of general curiosity and observation; let him creep through life ever so snugly at other times, during courtship he is watched, stared at, criticised, he becomes the hero of his own little world, the mark for "quips, and sentences, and paper bullets of the brain." Yet how easily and triumphantly do some men carry themselves through this period of notoriety and distinction. "Non equidem invideo, miror magis." I would, indeed, imitate the most approved examples to the extent of my power, and convince the lady of my affection, by every demonstration of love that could reasonably be expected of a shy man. I would make no objection to whispering my admiration of every thing she said, or did, or wrote, or wore. I would listen patient and pleased, if she chose to murder some of Mozart's sweetest songs; I would gaze with approval on her drawings, though all her trees were like furze bushes, and all her castles tumbling down; I would prefer yellow to blue, or Moore to Milton, at her bidding; read a library of romances at her desire, and spend hours in writing out quadrilles, charades, or sonnets, to please her; I would pretend to be terrified if she complained of a headach, and propose to send for a physician if she coughed. The other duties of a lover I would gladly commute by extra-attentions as a husband. But, alas! no commutation, no compromise is admitted. If the bride herself be disposed to lenity, and inclined to be merciful in her exactions, these amiable weaknesses are checked by the raileries and reproaches of her young female friends, who always flock about a woman on the eve of marriage, and form themselves into a committee of observation on the lover, as if to watch that no courtship dues are left unpaid. If he be remiss, they reproach him for his negligence; if ardent and devoted, they rally him on the violence of his passion. I would rather be reprimanded by the speaker of the House of Commons, than exposed to these girlish gibes and jests. I think I hear now those voluble tongues, that copious flow of ridicule, that easy pertness, those mingling peals of laughter, which have occasionally covered me with confusion. The broad stream of bantering has been too often poured over my shrinking head, by those careless, light-hearted creatures, who, unaware of the agony they inflict, unmindful of time, place, or circumstances, unobservant of character, exemplify the fable of the boys and the frogs, and half roast a bashful man to death by the fire of his own blushes.

One of the duties of a lover is that of staring: he ought several times a day to fix his eyes on his fair one's countenance, and look at her steadily for two or three minutes, or as much longer as he can bear it, concluding the ceremony by heaving a deep sigh. The lady sits very patiently under the operation, knowing it to be an established part of orthodox-courtship, and the rest of the company wink, and smile, and seem much edified and pleased by the apparent abstraction of the gentleman. Now, Mr. Editor, I never since I was born looked

steadily at any one for more than half a quarter of a minute, and I should stare with the same confusion of face as if I were being stared at.

Another misery of courtship is the bustle that ensues when the lover enters the room which contains his mistress. Instead of allowing him quietly and gradually to creep towards her, there is always some officious matron, or smiling damsel (one of the committee of inspection), who endeavours to effect an immediate approximation. A general bustle commences; whispers and winks fly round the circle; friends, informed of the necessity of the case, make excuses for moving; strangers are deluded into warm corners, or hurried with affected anxiety from some dangerous draught of air; every one seems of opinion that the most fatal consequences might ensue, should the betrothed parties be placed otherwise than in juxta-position. The gentleman is ushered into the enviable seat amidst a host of gazers and simperers; and some witty person is sure to utter in an audible whisper. "Well, now, Mr. —, you are happy, I suppose." Ye gods, no one would ever make such a speech to me under such circumstances; no one would be tempted to mistake the expression of my countenance for happiness; all the demons of annoyance and confusion would dwell upon my crimson brow. Then, again, I should be paraded to balls and parties in the interesting character of bridegroom elect, and should be expected to act the part of turtle-dove for the amusement of the company. I should be watched when I approached my intended, as if it were not unlikely that I might suddenly throw myself at her feet, as if I could not put on her shawl without vowing eternal attachment, or offer her refreshments without entreating her to name the happy day. I must parade up and down the room with her in close and earnest conversation, bend every three seconds to look into her eyes, throw a mysterious air into my whole demeanour, whisper my most trivial remarks, and look amorous from the topmost curl of my hair to my very shoe-tie. As it is said, that the character of a fine statue may be discovered by the most minute fragment, that the majesty of Juno resides in her great toe, and the grace of Venus sports on the tip of her ear; so it seems to be supposed that a lover is all over love, and that he cannot talk to his beloved on any subject without infusing into it an amorous spirit. Flames ought to breathe forth amidst a dissertation on the Congress at Verona; Cupid should sit astride on the bonassus, or walk hand-in-hand with the mermaid in Chancery. It is surprising to me that lovers, like other common-place sights, do not sink into a comfortable insignificance, without being exposed to any observing eyes, except those of girls and boys under fifteen. But single persons continue to take the most careful observations of all such approaching conjunctions, anxious, I suppose, to provide themselves with authorities and precedents for their own future direction; and even old married people are curious to see if the fashion has changed since their days of cooing and courting. In short, it would be as absurd in me to offer to dance a minuet, sing a solo, or make a speech at a public dinner, as to expect to carry myself through the office of lover with propriety or success. My mistress would quarrel with me in a week. Yet could I but slip through the labours of courtship, in matrimony I should certainly find an ample reward for my previous sufferings. A shy man is of all others the best calculated for married life. He will love with more than ordinary fervour the only woman in

whose presence he feels perfectly at ease; and that fire-side, where he may enjoy conversation without company, will be dearer to him than any other place in the world. There are also minor advantages of married life to which I am far from insensible. When I *did* go into society, I should have a companion who would enter a room before me, receive the first broad flash of observation,—the first salutations. How comfortably should I walk about with my wife on my arm, and gain part of the credit of her lively chat and easy address! When paying morning visits, too, how often should I bless myself for being a husband! My wife would make the movement for departure, take that most difficult step on which I have often meditated for half an hour without success, have sat and sat till I was asked to stay dinner, and then risen precipitately, and made an awkward retreat. But, alas! the old proverb about “a faint heart” will I fear be exemplified by my fate. Deep and desperate indeed must be the love which can change me into “a suitor bold.” All nature cannot produce an instance of so complete a transformation. The little creeping caterpillar, shrouding itself among the dust of the earth, is not so dissimilar from the gay butterfly that delights to sport among flowers and sunshine, as a bold gallant lover, proud of his affection, urgent in his suit, triumphing under observation, is unlike the unfortunate *bashful bachelor* who now addresses you. I remain, Mr. Editor, your very obedient humble servant,

W. E.

SIEGE OF ZARAGOZA IN SPAIN, JUNE, 1808.

From Southey's "History of the Peninsular War." London, 1823.

IMPORTANT as the battle of Baylen was in its direct and immediate consequences to the Spaniards, their cause derived greater celebrity and more permanent strength from the defence of Zaragoza.

Order had been restored in that city from the hour when Palafox assumed the command. Implicit confidence in the commander produced implicit and alert obedience, and preparations were made with zeal and activity proportioned to the danger. When the new captain-general declared war against the French, the troops which he mustered amounted only to 220 men, and the public treasury could furnish him with no more than one hundred dollars; sixteen ill-mounted guns were all the artillery in the place, and the arsenal contained but few muskets. Fowling-pieces were put in requisition, pikes were forged, powder was supplied from the mills at Villafeliche, which were some of the most considerable in Spain: for every thing else Palafox trusted to his country and his cause. And his trust was not in vain; the Zaragozans were ready to endure any suffering and make any sacrifice in the discharge of their duty; the same spirit possessed the whole country, and from all those parts of Spain which were under the yoke of the enemy, officers and soldiers repaired to Zaragoza as soon as it was seen that an army was collecting there; many came from Madrid and from Pampluna, and some officers of engineers from the military academy at Alcala. And the spirits of the people were encouraged by the discovery of a depôt of fire-arms walled up in the Alfaria; they had probably been secreted there in the Succession

war, when one party resigned that city to its enemies, and their discovery in this time of need was regarded by the Zaragozans as a manifestation of Divine Providence in their favour. The defeats which their undisciplined levies sustained at Tudela, Mallen, and Alagon, abated not their resolution; and in the last of these actions a handful of regular troops protected their retreat with great steadiness. The French general Lefebvre Desnouettes, pursuing his hitherto uninterrupted success, advanced, and took up his position very near the city, and covered by a rising ground planted with olive trees.

Zaragoza was not a fortified* town; the brick wall which surrounded it was from ten to twelve feet high, and three feet thick, and in many places it was interrupted by houses, which formed part of the enclosure. The city had no advantages of situation for its defence, and would not have been considered capable of resistance by any men but those whose courage was sustained by a virtuous and holy principle of duty. It stands in an open plain, which was then covered with olive grounds, and is bounded on either hand by high and distant mountains; but it is commanded by some high ground called the *Torrero*, about a mile to the south-west, upon which there was a convent, with some smaller buildings. The canal of Aragon divides this elevation from another rising ground, where the Spaniards had erected a battery. The Ebro bathes the walls of the city, and separates it from the suburbs; it has two bridges, within musket-shot of each other; one of wood, said to be more beautiful than any other of the like materials in Europe; the other, of free-stone, consisting of seven arches, the largest of which is 122 feet in diameter; the river is fordable above the city. Two smaller rivers, the Galego and the Guerva, flow at a little distance from the city, the one on the east, the other on the west; the latter being separated from the walls only by the breadth of the common road; both are received into the Ebro. Unlike most other places of the peninsula, Zaragoza has neither aqueduct nor fountains, but derives its water wholly from the river. The people of Tortosa, (and probably of the other towns upon its course) drink also of the Ebro, preferring it to the finest spring; the water is of a dirty red colour, but having stood a few hours, it becomes perfectly clear, and has a softness and pleasantness of taste, which soon induces strangers to agree with the natives in their preference of it. The population was stated in the census of 1787, at 42,600; that of 1797, excellent as it is in all other respects, has the fault of not specifying the places in each district; later accounts computed its inhabitants at 60,000, and it was certainly one of the largest cities in the peninsula. It had twelve gates, four of them in the old wall of Augustus, by whom the older town of Salduba upon the same site was enlarged, beautified, and called *Cæsarea-Augusta*, or *Cæsaraugusta*; a word easily corrupted into its present† name.

The whole city is built of brick; and even the convents and churches were of this coarse material, which was bad of its kind, so

* "Elle est sans defense et sans fortification," said Colmenar, writing a century ago, "fermée d'une simple muraille; mais ce défaut est réparé par la bravoure des habitants." After the proofs which the inhabitants have given of their patriotism, this praise appears like prophecy.

† The Spaniards, by a more curious corruption, call Syracuse, *Zaragonza de Sicilia*.

that there were cracks in most of these edifices from top to bottom. The houses are not so high as they usually are in old Spanish towns, their general height being only three stories; the streets are as usual, very narrow and crooked; there are, however, open market-places; and one very wide, long, and regularly built street, formerly called the Calle Santa, having been the scene of many martyrdoms, but now more commonly known by the name of the Cozo. The people, like the rest of the Aragonese, and their neighbours, the Catalans, have been always honourably distinguished in Spanish history for their love of liberty; and the many unavailing struggles which they have made during the last four centuries, had not abated their attachment to the good principles of their forefathers. Within the peninsula, (and once indeed throughout the whole of Catholic Europe,) Zaragoza was famous as the city of our Lady of the Pillar, whose legend is still so firmly believed by the people, and most of the clergy in Spain, that it was frequently appealed to in the proclamations of the different generals and Juntas, as one of the most popular articles of the national faith. The legend is this: when the apostles, after the resurrection, separated and went to preach the gospel in different parts of the world, St. James the elder (or Santiago, as he may more properly be called in his mythological history,) departed for Spain, which province Christ himself had previously commended to his care. When he went to kiss the hand of the Virgin, and request her leave to set off, and her blessing, she commanded him, in the name of her Son, to build a church to her honour in that city of Spain wherein he should make the greatest number of converts, adding, that she would give him farther instructions concerning the edifice upon the spot. Santiago set sail, landed in Galicia, and, having preached with little success through the northern provinces, reached Cæsarea-Augusta, where he made eight disciples. One night, after he had been conversing and praying with them as usual on the banks of the river, they fell asleep, and just at midnight the apostle heard heavenly voices sing, *Ave Maria gratia plena!* He fell on his knees, and instantly beheld the Virgin upon a marble pillar in the midst of a choir of angels, who went through the whole of her matin service. When this was ended, she bade him build her church around that pillar, which his Lord, her blessed Son, had sent him by the hands of his angels; there, she told him, that pillar was to remain till the end of the world, and great mercies would be vouchsafed there to those who supplicated for them in her name. Having said this, the angels transported her back to her house at Jerusalem, (for this was before the Assumption) and Santiago, in obedience, erected on that spot the first church which was ever dedicated to the Virgin. Cathedral service was performed both in this church and in the see, and the meetings of the chapter were held alternately in each. The interior of each was of the most imposing* kind. When the elder of these joint cathedrals was

* "Here," says Mr. Townsend, "I forgot all the hardships and fatigues which we had suffered in this long journey: nay, had I travelled all the way on foot, I would have freely done it to enjoy the sight of these cathedrals. That which is called *El Aca*, is vast, gloomy, and magnificent; it excites devotion, inspires awe, and inclines the worshipper to fall prostrate, and to adore in silence the God who seems to veil his glory. The other called *El Pilar*, spacious, lofty, light, elegant, and cheerful, inspires hope, confidence, complacency, and makes the soul impatient to express its gratitude for benefits received."

erected, Pope Gelasius granted indulgences to all persons who would contribute toward the work, and thus introduced a practice which contributed as much to the grandeur and magnificence of ecclesiastical architecture, as to laxity of morals and the prevalence of superstition.

The French, accustomed as they were to undervalue the Spanish, had spoken with peculiar contempt of the Zaragozans. "Few persons," they said, "are to be seen among them who distinguish themselves by their dress; there is little of that elegant attire so observable in large cities. All is serious and regular—dull and monotonous. The place seems without any kind of resource, because the inhabitants use no effort to obtain any; accustomed to a state of apathy and languor, they have not an idea of the possibility of shaking it off." With this feeling, equally despising the strength of the place, and the character of the people, the French proceeded to besiege the capital of Aragon. A party of their cavalry entered the town on the 14th, perhaps in pursuit of the retreating patriots; they thought to scour the streets, but they were soon made to feel, that the superiority of disciplined soldiers to citizens exists only in the field.

On the following morning, the French, with part of their force, attacked the outposts upon the canal, and, with their main body, attempted to storm the city by the gate called Portillo. A desperate conflict ensued. The Aragonese fought with a spirit worthy of their cause. They had neither time, nor room, nor necessity for order. Their cannon, which they had hastily planted before the gates, and in the best situations without the town, were served by any persons who happened to be near them; any one gave orders who felt himself competent to take the command. A party of the enemy entered the city, and were all slain. Lefebvre perceived that it was hopeless to persist in the attack with his present force, and drew off his troops, having suffered great loss. The patriots lost about 2000 men killed, and as many wounded. In such a conflict the circumstances are so materially in favour of the defendants, that the carnage made among the French must have been much greater. Some part of their baggage and plunder was abandoned in their retreat. The conquerors would have exposed themselves by a rash pursuit, but Palafox exhorted them not to be impatient, telling them, that the enemy would give them frequent opportunities to display their courage. While he thus restrained their impetuosity, he continued to excite their zeal. This victory, he said, was but the commencement of the triumphs which they were to expect under the powerful assistance of their divine patrons. The precious blood of their brethren had been shed in the field of glory on their own soil. Those blessed martyrs required new victims; let us, he added, prepare for the sacrifice!

The Zaragozans had obtained only a respite; defeated as he was, Lefebvre had only removed beyond the reach of their guns; his troops were far superior to any which they could bring against him; and it was not to be doubted that he would soon return in greater force, to take vengeance for the repulse and the disgrace which he had suffered. A regular siege was to be expected; how were the citizens to sustain it with their brick walls, without heavy artillery, and

and without troops who could sally to interrupt the besiegers in their works? In spite of all these discouraging circumstances, confiding in God and their own courage, they determined to defend the streets to the last extremity. Palafox, immediately after the repulse of the enemy, set out to muster reinforcements, to provide such resources for the siege as he could, and to place the rest of Aragon in a state of defence, if the capital should fall. He was accompanied by Colonel Butron, his friend and aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel Beillan, of the engineers; Padre Basilo, and Tio Jorge. With these companions and a small escort, he left the city by the suburbs, crossed the Ebro at Pina, and collecting on the way about 1400 soldiers who had escaped from Madrid, formed a junction at Belchite with Baron Versage and some newly raised troops from Calatayud. Their united numbers amounted to some 7000 men, with 100 horse and four pieces of artillery. Small as this force was, and still more inefficient for want of discipline than of numerical strength, Palafox resolved upon making an attempt with it to succour the city. The prudence of this determination was justly questioned by some; others proposed the strange measure of marching to Valencia; this probably originated with some of the stray soldiers who were at liberty to seek their fortune where they pleased, and the proposal was so well received that a considerable party prepared to set off in that direction, without orders. But Palafox called them together, exhorted them to do their duty, and offered passports to as many as chose to leave him in the moment of danger. The consequence of this offer was, that not a man departed. From Almunia, where he had rested a day, he then marched towards Epila, thinking to advance to the village of La Muela, and thus place the invaders between his little army and the city, in the hope of cutting them off from their reinforcements. Lefebvre prevented this, by suddenly attacking him at Epila, on the night of the 23d: after a most obstinate resistance, the superior arms and discipline of the French were successful. The wreck of this gallant band retreated to Calatayud, and afterwards, with great difficulty, threw themselves into Zaragoza.

The besiegers' army was soon reinforced by General Verdier, with 2500 men, besides some battalions of Portuguese, who, according to the devilish system of Bonaparte's tyranny, had been forced out of their own country, to be pushed on in the foremost ranks, wherever the first fire of a battery was to be received, a line of bayonets clogged, or a ditch filled, with bodies. They occupied the best positions in the surrounding plain, and, on the 27th, attacked the city and the Torrero; but they were repulsed with the loss of 800 men, six pieces of artillery, and five carts of ammunition. By this time, they had invested nearly half the town. The next morning they renewed the attack at both places; from the city they were again repulsed, losing almost all the cavalry who were engaged. But the Torrero was lost through the alleged misconduct of an artillery officer, who was charged with having made his men abandon the batteries at the most critical moment. For this he was condemned to run the gauntlet six times, the soldiers beating him with their ram-rods, and after this cruelty he was shot.

The French, having now received a train of mortars, howitzers, and twelve-pounders, which were of sufficient calibre against mud walls,

kept up a constant fire, and showered down shells and grenades from the Torrero. About twelve hundred were thrown into the town, and there was not one building that was bomb proof within the walls. After a time, the inhabitants placed beams of timber together, endways, against the houses, in a sloping direction, behind which those who were near when a shell fell, might shelter themselves. The enemy continued also to invest the city more closely, while the Aragonese made every effort to strengthen their means of defence. They tore down the awnings from their windows, and formed them into sacks, which they filled with sand, and piled up before the gates, in the form of a battery, digging round it a deep trench. They broke holes for musketry in the walls and intermediate buildings, and stationed cannon where the position was favourable for it. The houses in the environs were destroyed. "Gardens and olive grounds," says an eye witness, "that in better times had been the recreation and support of their owners, were cheerfully rooted up by the proprietors themselves, wherever they impeded the defence of the city, or covered the approach of the enemy." Women of all ranks assisted; they formed themselves into companies, some to relieve the wounded, some to carry water, wine, and provisions, to those who defended the gates. The Countess Burita instituted a corps for this service; she was young, delicate, and beautiful. In the midst of the most tremendous fire of shot and shells, she was seen coolly attending to those occupations, which were now become her duty; nor throughout the whole of a two months' siege did the imminent danger, to which she incessantly exposed herself, produce the slightest apparent effect upon her, or in the slightest degree bend her from her heroic purpose. Some of the monks bore arms; others exercised their spiritual offices to the dying; others, with the nuns, were busied in making cartridges which the children distributed.

Among three score thousand persons, there will always be found some wicked enough for any employment, and the art of corrupting has constituted great part of the French system of war. During the night of the 28th, the powder magazine, in the area where the bull-fights were performed, which was in the very heart of the city, was blown up, by which fourteen houses were destroyed, and about 200 persons killed. This was the signal for the enemy to appear before three gates which had been sold to them. And while the inhabitants were digging out their fellow citizens from the ruins, a fire was opened upon them with mortars, howitzers, and cannons, which had now been received for battering the town. Their attack seemed chiefly to be directed against the gate called Portillo, and a large square building near it, without the walls, and surrounded by a deep ditch; though called a castle, it served only for a prison. The sand-bag battery before this gate was frequently destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. The carnage here throughout the day was dreadful. Augustina Zaragoza, a handsome woman, of the lower class, about twenty-two years of age, arrived at this battery with refreshments, at the time when not a man who defended it was left alive, so tremendous was the fire which the French kept up against it. For a moment the citizens hesitated to re-man the guns; Augustina sprung forward over the dead and dying, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired off a six-and-twenty pounder;

then, jumping upon the gun, made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege. Such a sight could not but animate with fresh courage all who beheld it. The Zaragozans rushed into the battery, and renewed their fire with greater vigour than ever; and the French were repulsed here, and at all other points, with great slaughter. On the morning of this day a fellow was detected going out of the city with letters to Murat. It was not till after these repeated proofs of treasonable practices, that the French residents in Zaragoza, with other suspected persons, were taken into custody.

Lefebvre now supposing that his destructive bombardment must have dismayed the people, and convinced them how impossible it was for so defenceless a city to persist in withstanding him, again attempted to force his way into the town, thinking that, as soon as his troops could effect a lodgement within the gates, the Zaragozans would submit. On the 2d of July, a column of his army marched out of their battery, which was almost within musket-shot of the Portillo, and advanced towards it with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot. But when they reached the castle, such a discharge of grape and musketry was opened upon their flank, that, notwithstanding the most spirited exertions of their officers, the column immediately dispersed. The remainder of their force had been drawn up to support their attack, and follow them into the city; but it was impossible to bring them a second time to the charge. The general, however, ordered another column instantly to advance against the gate of the Carmen, on the left of the Portillo. This entrance was defended by a sand-bag battery, and by musketeers, who lined the walls on each side, and commanded two out of three approaches to it; and here also the French suffered great loss, and were repulsed.

The military men in Zaragoza considered these attacks as extremely injudicious. Lefebvre probably was so indignant at meeting with any opposition from a people whom he despised, and a place which, according to the rules and pedantry of war, was not tenable, that he lost his temper, and thought to subdue them the shortest way, by mere violence and superior force. Having found his mistake, he proceeded to invest the city still more closely. In the beginning of the siege, the besieged received some scanty succours; yet, however scanty, they were of importance. Four hundred soldiers from the regiment of Estremadura, small parties from other corps, and a few artillerymen got in. Two hundred of the militia of Logrono were added to these artillerymen, and soon learnt their new service, being in the presence of an enemy whom they had such righteous reason to abhor. Two four-and-twenty pounders and a few shells, which were much wanted, were procured from Lerida. The enemy, meantime, were amply supplied with stores from the magazine in the citadel of Pamplona, which they had so perfidiously seized on their first entrance, as allies, into Spain. Hitherto they had remained on the right* bank of the Ebro. On the 11th of July they forced the passage of the ford, and posted troops enough on the opposite side to protect their workmen while forming a floating bridge. In spite of all the

* In military language, you always describe the country by the current of water, and speak as if you were looking down the stream. It was requisite to explain this to the court upon Whitelock's trial, and therefore the explanation cannot be thought unnecessary here.

efforts of the Aragonese, this bridge was completed on the 14th; a way was thus made for their cavalry, to their superiority in which the French were mostly indebted for all their victories in Spain. This gave them the command of the surrounding country; they destroyed the mills, levied contributions on the villages, and cut off every communication by which the besiegers had hitherto received supplies. These new difficulties called out new resources in this admirable people and their general,—a man worthy of commanding such a people in such times. Corn mills, worked by horses, were erected in various parts of the city; the monks were employed in manufacturing gunpowder, materials for which was obtained by immediately collecting all the sulphur in the place, by washing the soil of the streets to extract its nitre, and making charcoal from the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grows to a magnitude that would elsewhere be thought very unusual.*

By the end of July the city was completely invested, the supply of food was scanty, and the inhabitants had no reason to expect succour. Their exertions had now been unremitted for forty-six days, and nothing but the sense of duty could have supported their bodily strength and their spirit under such trials. They were in hourly expectation of another general attack, or another bombardment. They had not a single place of security for the sick and the children, and the number of wounded was daily increased by repeated skirmishes, in which they engaged for the purpose of opening a communication with the country. At this juncture they made one desperate effort to recover the Torrero. It was in vain; and convinced by repeated losses, and especially by this last repulse, that it was hopeless to make any effectual sally, they resolved to abide the issue of the contest within the walls, and conquer or perish there.

On the night of the second of August, and on the following day, the French bombarded the city from their batteries opposite the gate of the Carmen. A foundling hospital, which was now filled with the sick and wounded, took fire, and was rapidly consumed. During this scene of horror, the most intrepid exertions were made to rescue these helpless sufferers from the flames. No person thought of his own property or individual concerns; every one hastened thither. The women were eminently conspicuous in their exertions, regardless of the shot and shells which fell about them, and braving the flames of the building. It has often been remarked, that the wickedness of women exceeds that of the other sex; for the same reason, when circumstances, forcing them out of the sphere of their ordinary nature, compel them to exercise manly virtues, they display them in the highest degree, and, when they are once awakened to a sense of patriotism, they carry the principle to its most heroic pitch. The loss of women and boys, during this siege, was very great, fully proportionate to that of men; they were always the most forward, and the difficulty was to teach them a prudent and proper sense of their danger.

On the following day, the French completed their batteries upon the right bank of the Guerva, within pistol-shot of the gate of St. En-

* "On this simple foundation," says Mr. Vaughan, "a regular manufactory of gunpowder was formed after the siege, which produced 13 arrobas of Castille, per day; that is 325 pounds of 12 ounces."

gracia, so called from a splendid church and convent of Jeronimites, situated on one side of it. This convent was, on many accounts, a remarkable place. Men of letters beheld it with reverence, because the excellent historian Zurita spent the last years of his life there, observing the rules of the community, though he had not entered into the order; and because he was buried there, and his countryman and fellow-labourer, Geronymo de Blancas, after him. Devotees revered it, even in the neighbourhood of our Lady of the Pillar, for its relics and the saint to whom it was dedicated. According to the legend, she was the daughter of Ont Comerus, a barbarian chief, in the pay of the Romans, by whom the city of Norba Cæsarea, (situated near the Tagus, between the present towns of Portalegre and Alcantara) was given him, together with its district, for his service in recovering it from Cathelius, a chief of the Alemanni. His daughter, Encratis, or Encratide, (for from one of these names Engracia has been formed) was brought up a Christian, and espoused to a governor on the Gallic side of the Pyrenees, to whom she was sent with a suitable escort. Their way lay through Cæsarea-Augusta, where the Præses, or Governor of Spain, Publius Dacianus, the bloodiest minister of the tenth persecution, was at that time endeavouring to extirpate Christianity, Engracia, either preferring martyrdom to her unknown spouse, or imagining that her rank would be her safeguard, visited the governor for the purpose of interceding in behalf of the Christians, and remonstrating against his cruelty. Thus much of the legend is probably fabulous; but certain it is, that a virgin of that name was tortured under that persecution; and, though she survived, was venerated as a martyr in that city, before the close of the century in which she suffered. Just, however, as her claim is to pious remembrance, her church, and the divine honours which have been paid to her, were procured by fraud. Angels are said to have descended at her death, and to have officiated at her funeral, bearing tapers and thuribules, and singing hymns of triumph. During the Moorish captivity, her relics disappeared; they were discovered towards the close of the fourteenth century, which was the great age for inventions of this kind. There stood, at that time, upon the site of this memorable convent, an old church, dedicated to the Zaragozan martyrs, of the tenth persecution, and called the *Iglesia de las Masas*, in memory of an early specimen of Catholic ingenuity. Dacianus, holding relic-worship in as much contempt as the Christians did his idolatry, in order to prevent them from indulging in it, burnt the bodies of the martyrs, together with those of some malefactors, thinking that their ashes would be undistinguishable; nevertheless, the Christians found their own, which had collected together in white balls or masses, separate from the rest. In 1389, the regular canons, to whom the church belonged, resolved to rebuild a part of it: in digging the foundation, two marble chests were discovered. The lid of the smaller was fastened down very firmly with a sort of pitch; when this was taken off, two sets of human bones were found in different compartments; over the one were the words *Lpuercii Martyris*, sculptured in the marble; over the other *Engratiæ Virginis*: these latter were of rose colour, which was admitted as proof of their authenticity. The larger chest contained a great assortment of anonymous bones, ashes, and the white masses, which had disappeared for so many centuries. The mine was very

rich; the workmen went on till they had invented thirteen chests, and at last, a whole pit full of relics, not the less efficacious because it could not be ascertained to whom they had belonged. Seventy years afterwards, Juan II. of Aragon, one of the wickedest and most perfidious of men, fancied or feigned, that by St. Engracia's intercession, he was cured of a complaint in his eyes; in consequence of which, he resolved to enlarge this church, and build a monastery adjoining it for the Jeronimites,—an order which, during that and the succeeding age, was in great favour at the three courts of the Peninsula. He began his work, but died without completing it, leaving that charge by will to his son, Ferdinand, the Catholic king. He continued the building, but it was not finished till the reign of Charles the Fifth.

Both the church and convent were splendidly adorned, but the most remarkable part of the whole edifice was a subterranean church, formed in the place where the relics were discovered, and having the pit, or well, as it was called, in the middle. It was divided by a beautiful iron grating, which excluded laymen from the interior of the sanctuary. There were three descents; the widest flight of steps was that which was for public use, the two others were for the religioners, and met in one behind the three chief altars, within the grating. Over the midst of these altars were two tombs, placed one upon the other in a niche; the under one containing the relics of Engracia's companions and fellows in martyrdom; the upper, those of the saint herself, her head excepted, which was kept in a silver shrine, having a collar of precious stones, and enclosed in crystal. The altars on either side had their respective relics; and several others, equally rich in such treasures, were ranged along the walls, without the grating. The roof was of an azure colour, studded with stars to represent the sky. The breadth of the vault considerably exceeded its length; it was sixty feet wide, and only forty long. Thirty little columns, of different marbles, supported the roof. On the stone brink of the well, the history of the Zaragozan martyrs was represented in bas-relief, and an iron grating, reaching to the roof, secured it from being profaned by idle curiosity, and from the pious larcenies which it might otherwise have tempted. Within this cage-work, a silver lamp was suspended. Thirty such lamps were burning there day and night; and, though the roof was little more than twelve feet high, it was never in the slightest degree sullied with smoke. The fact is certain;* but the useful and important secret, by which oil was made to burn without producing smoke, was carefully concealed; and the Jeronimites continued till

* The Bollandists relate this miracle with a candid admission of doubt, because the writer, in whom they found it related, spoke upon the testimony of others, instead of boldly asserting it on his own authority. There are, however, testimonies in abundance, and that of M. Bourgoing will be admitted to be decisive. "The roof," he says, "though very low, is certainly not smoked. They invite those who are doubtful of it, to put a piece of white paper over one of these lamps. I tried this experiment; and I must confess, I saw, or thought I saw, that my paper was not blackened. I had still my doubts, but I took care to conceal them from my bigoted conductors. I was, however, tempted to say to them, God has not thought proper to work any striking miracle to accelerate the end of the French revolution, or to calm the passions which it has roused; and, do you think that he would condescend to perform here a miracle as obscure as your cavern, and as useless as your own existence."

this time to exhibit a miracle, which puzzled all who did not believe it to be miraculous.

On the 4th of August, the French opened batteries within pistol-shot of this church and convent. The mud walls were levelled at the first discharge; and the besiegers rushing through the opening, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverse. Here General Mori, who had distinguished himself on many former occasions, was made prisoner. The street of St. Engracia, which they had just entered, leads into the Cozo, and the corner buildings where it thus terminated, were on the one hand the convent of St. Francisco, and on the other the General Hospital. Both were stormed and set on fire; the sick and the wounded threw themselves from the windows to escape the flames, and the horror of the scene was aggravated by the maniacs, whose voices raving or singing in paroxysms of wilder madness, or crying in vain to be set free, were heard amid the confusion of dreadful sounds. Many fell victims to the fire, and some to the indiscriminating fury of the assailants. Those who escaped were conducted as prisoners to the Torrero; but when their condition had been discovered, they were sent back on the morrow, to take their chance in the siege. After a severe contest and dreadful carnage, the French forced their way into the Cozo, in the very centre of the city, and, before the day closed, were in possession of one half of Zaragoza. Lefebvre now believed that he had effected his purpose, and required Palafox to surrender, in a note containing only these words: "Head quarters, St. Engracia. Capitulation!"* The heroic Spaniard immediately returned this reply: "Head quarters, Zaragoza. War at the knife's point!"†

The contest which was now carried on is unexampled in history. One side of the Cozo, a street about as wide as Pall-mall, was possessed by the French; and, in the centre of it, their general, Verdier, gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Aragonese, who threw up batteries at the openings of the cross streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown out from the windows. Next day the ammunition of the citizens began to fail;—the French were expected every moment to renew their efforts for completing the conquest, and even this circumstance occasioned no dismay, nor did any one think of capitulation. One cry was heard from the people, whenever Palafox rode among them, that, if powder failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives,—formidable weapons, in the hands of desperate men. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the general's brother, entered the city with a convoy of arms, and ammunition, and a reinforcement of three thousand men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Aragon,—a succour as little expected by the Zaragozans, as it had been provided against by the enemy.

The war was now continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room; pride and indignation having wrought up the French to a pitch of obstinate fury, little inferior to the devoted courage of the patriots. During the whole siege, no man distinguished himself more remarkably than the curate of one of the parishes, within

* Quartel-general, Santa Engracia. La capitulation.

† Quartel-general, Zaragoza. Guerra al cuchillo.

the walls, by name P. Santiago Sass. He was always to be seen in the streets, sometimes fighting with the most determined bravery against the enemies, not of his country alone, but of freedom, and of all virtuous principles, wherever they were to be found; at other times, administering the sacrament to the dying, and confirming, with the authority of faith, that hope, which gives to death, under such circumstances, the joy, the exultation, the triumph, and the spirit of martyrdom. Palafox reposed the utmost confidence in this brave priest, and selected him whenever any thing peculiarly difficult or hazardous was to be done. At the head of forty chosen men, he succeeded in introducing a supply of powder into the town, so essentially necessary for its defence.

This most obstinate and murderous contest was continued for eleven successive days and nights, more indeed by night than by day; for it was almost certain death to appear by day-light within reach of those houses which were occupied by the other party. But under cover of the darkness, the combatants frequently dashed across the street to attack each other's batteries; and the battles which began there, were often carried on into the houses beyond, where they fought from room to room, and floor to floor. The hostile batteries were so near each other, that a Spaniard in one place made way under cover of the dead bodies, which completely filled the space between them, and fastened a rope to one of the French cannons; in the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Zaragozans lost their prize at the very moment when they thought themselves sure of it.

A new horror was added to the dreadful circumstances of war in this ever memorable siege. In general engagements the dead are left upon the field of battle, and the survivors remove to clear ground and an untainted atmosphere; but here, in Spain, and in the month of August, there where the dead lay the struggle was still carried on, and pestilence was dreaded from the enormous accumulation of putrifying bodies. Nothing in the whole course of the siege so much embarrassed Palafox as this evil. The only remedy was to tie ropes to the French prisoners, and push them forward amid the dead and dying, to remove the bodies, and bring them away for interment. Even for this necessary office there was no truce, and it would have been certain death to the Aragonese who should have attempted to perform it; but the prisoners were in general secured by the pity of their own soldiers, and in this manner the evil was, in some degree, diminished.

A council of war was held by the Spaniards on the 8th, not for the purpose which is too usual in such councils, but that their heroic resolution might be communicated with authority to the people. It was, that in those quarters of the city where the Aragonese still maintained their ground, they should continue to defend themselves with the same firmness; should the enemy at last prevail, they were then to retire over the Ebro into the suburbs, break down the bridge, and defend the suburbs till they perished. When this resolution was made public, it was received with the loudest acclamations. But in every conflict the citizens now gained ground upon the soldiers, winning it inch by inch, till the space occupied by the enemy, which on the day of their entrance was nearly half the city, was gradually reduced to about an eighth part. Meantime, intelligence of the events in other

parts of Spain was received by the French, all tending to dishearten them; the surrender of Dupont, the failure of Moncey before Valencia, and the news that the Junta of that province had despatched six thousand men to join the levies in Aragon, which were destined to relieve Zaragoza. During the night of the 13th, their fire was particularly fierce and destructive; after their batteries had ceased, flames burst out in many parts of the buildings they had won; their last act was to blow up the church of St. Engracia; the powder was placed in the subterranean church; and this remarkable place—this monument of fraud and credulity—the splendid theatre wherein so many feelings of deep devotion had been excited—which so many thousands had visited in faith, and from which unquestionably many had departed with their imaginations elevated, their principles ennobled, and their hearts strengthened, was laid in ruins. In the morning the French columns, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, were seen at a distance, retreating over the plain, on the road to Pamplona.

The history of a battle, however skilfully narrated, is necessarily uninteresting to all except military men; but in the detail of a siege, when time has destroyed those considerations, which prejudice or pervert our natural sense of right and wrong, every reader sympathises with the besieged, and nothing, even in fictitious narratives, excites so deep and animating an interest. There is not, either in the annals of ancient or of modern times, a single event recorded more worthy to be held in admiration, now and for evermore, than the siege of Zaragoza. Will it be said that this devoted people obtained for themselves by all this heroism, and all these sacrifices, nothing more than a short respite from their fate? Woe be to the slavish heart that conceives the thought, and shame to the base tongue that gives it utterance! They purchased for themselves an everlasting remembrance upon earth; a place in the memory and love of all good men in all ages that are yet to come. They performed their duty; they redeemed their souls from the yoke; they left an example to their country never to be forgotten, never to be out of mind, and sure to contribute to and hasten its deliverance.

One of the first cares of Palafox, after the delivery of the city, was, to establish a board of health to provide against the effects of putrefaction—such was the number of French who were left dead in the houses and in the streets. Pamplona, whither the wreck of their army retreated, was for many days filled with carts full and horse-loads of wounded, who arrived faster and in greater numbers than they could be lodged in the hospitals and convents. It was equally shocking to humanity to behold their sufferings, and the cruel regardlessness of their comrades, who, while those wretches were fainting for want of assistance and of food, and literally dying in the streets, were exposing their booty to sale, and courting purchasers for church plate, watches, jewels, linen, and apparel, the plunder which they had collected in Navarre and Aragon; and which in their eagerness to convert into money, they were offering at a small part of its value. There were, however, scarcely any purchasers except for the church-plate, which was bought for the purpose of restoring it, at the same cost, to the churches and monasteries from whence it had been stolen.

The temper of the Zaragozans after their victory was not less heroic than their conduct during the struggle. It might have been ex-

pected that some degree of exhaustion would have succeeded the state of excitement to which they had been wrought; and that the widowed, the childless, and those who had been left destitute, would now have lamented what they had lost, or at least, that they themselves had not perished also. This, however, was not so. Mr. Vaughan visited Zaragoza a little while after the siege, and remained there during several weeks; he saw (they are his own impressive words) "many a parent who had lost his children, and many a man reduced from competence to poverty, but he literally did not meet with one human being who uttered the slightest complaint; every feeling seemed to be swallowed up in the memory of what they had recently done, and in a just hatred of the French." These are the effects of patriotism, aided and strengthened by religion: its influence thus elevated and confirmed, made women and boys efficient in the time of action, and the streets of a city not less formidable to an invader, than the best constructed works of defence. Let not the faith which animated the Aragonese be called superstition, because our Lady of the Pillar, Santiago, and St. Engracia were its symbols. It was virtually and essentially religion in its inward life and spirit; it was the sense of what they owed equally to their forefathers and their children; the knowledge that their cause was as righteous as any for which an injured and insulted people ever rose in arms; the hope that by the blessing of God upon that cause they might succeed; the certain faith that if they fell, it was with the feeling, the motive, and the merit of martyrdom. Life or death therefore became to Zaragons only not indifferent, because life was useful to the cause for which they held it in trust, and were ready to lay it down: they who fell expired in triumph, and the survivors rather envied than regretted them. The living had no fears for themselves, and for the same reason they could have no sorrow for the dead. The whole greatness of our nature was called forth: a power which had lain dormant, and of which the possessors themselves had not suspected the existence, till it manifested itself in the hour of trial.

When the dead were removed, and the ruins sufficiently cleared, Ferdinand was proclaimed with all the usual solemnities; a ceremony at other times attended with no other feeling than such as sports and festivity occasion, now made affecting by the situation of Ferdinand himself, and the scene which surrounded the spectators; walls blackened with fire, shattered with artillery, and stained with blood. The obsequies of the Spaniards who had fallen were next performed with military honours, and their funeral oration pronounced from the pulpit. The brave priest, Santiago Sass, was made chaplain to the commander in chief; Palafox gave him a captain's commission. These were times when the religion of Matthias and the Maccabees was required; and the priest of the altar was in the exercise of his duty, when defending it, sword in hand, in the field. A pension was settled upon Augustina, and the daily pay of an artilleryman. She was also to wear a small shield of honour embroidered upon the sleeve of her gown, with Zaragoza inscribed upon it. Tio Jorge was killed during the siege. Other persons, who had distinguished themselves, were rewarded; and the general reward which Palafox conferred upon the Zaragozan people, is strongly characteristic of Spanish feeling. By his own authority and in the name of Ferdinand, he confer-

red upon the inhabitants of the city and its districts, of both sexes and of all ranks, the perpetual and irrevocable privilege of never being adjudged to any disgraceful punishment by any tribunal for any offence, except for treason or blasphemy.

FROM LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE.

SUMMARY OF FASHION FOR 1822.

In a work so highly patronized as *La Belle Assemblée*, which is, in a peculiar manner dedicated to the records of Fashion, we feel ourselves called upon to devote a portion of our supplement to that subject, by giving a detail of her changes through the preceding year.

Fashion is a fluctuating, yet universally acknowledged power, despotic in sway, though ever indulgent to the suggestions of taste, which can alone prevent her from following the footsteps of whim, in her most grotesque attire. Though it is in London and Paris the goddess seems to have fixed her most certain abode, she renders every nation and every period of time subservient to her laws. At one time her magic wand is of plain and solid materials, like the bars of gold on the wrists and ancles of the Hindostanee beauty; at another, it is variegated, and light as the Mexican plume. We find this versatile power at different periods, guided solely one week by the fleeting subject of the present hour, and what constitutes the busy gossip of the day: then she again takes wing, and

“From the dust,
Calls up the sleeping hero,”

transporting us to the court and palace of the mighty Montezuma. The turban of the female Indian of Malabar, the antique Roman head-dress, the attributes of the Egyptian Isis, the Arcadian hat, and the oriental bandeau of costly gems, are alternately seen adorning the beautiful tresses of her votaries. An yearly compendium of all these different changes, as they took place for every one of the preceding twelve months, we now lay before our numerous subscribers.

In *January*, the pelisses were of richly coloured velvet, and the bonnets had a warm and comfortable appearance, by being lined with quilted satin, but they were preposterously large, and as there was no powerful sun to shade off, they only drew the wintry wind to the face: they were, however, elegantly trimmed, and their shape, notwithstanding their size, becoming. The *corsages* for dress parties were beautiful; black velvet ornamented with pearls. The caps had much novelty and beauty to recommend them. The waists were of a proper length, but the skirts much too long. The sultana turban (Fashion had then adopted the Ottoman style of costume,) was a superb head-dress.

The French ladies revived the old fashion of short sleeves, with temporary long ones tacked to them, even in pelisses: they had a band of fur just below the elbow, and another at the wrist, exactly like the dresses of our grandmothers, when long sleeves first became the fashion. Merino dresses, spotted velvets, and satin trimmed with fur, were very appropriate for winter clothing: and the polished steel fringes, that have so beautiful an effect by candle light, first appeared

on ball dresses this month. The waists were rather too long, but the petticoats were of a genteel length: black dresses were much in favour.

In *February* the changes of dress were but trifling; the mildness of the weather induced the English ladies to trim their full dresses with flowers; but Flora was sparing of her treasures, and the artificial copies of them were chiefly the scarlet geranium blossom, and the *honestas*; but that was a dry, dirty looking colour, and therefore it was of rose or crimson. A favourite hat was introduced for walking, styled the *Paysanne* hat, very unsuitable for the time of year, and only fit as a summer shade to the face; it was, however, though very unappropriately, made of black velvet. The dress hats and toques were very elegant; their ornaments were of polished steel, which now began to challenge universal favour.

The French ladies, this month, had an ugly fashion of craping the hair before it was curled, which gave to it a woolly and unglossy appearance.

In *March* the English dames seemed emulous of copying the fashions from the beautiful *Marguerite de Valois*, the repudiated wife of Henry IV. We cannot pretend to say by what motive they were actuated at that period; but it was an eventful one when that hat, bearing Margaret's name, was introduced. It was becoming to many faces, but not to all, yet it was very generally adopted. Sarsenet pelisses began to be substituted for cloth and velvet; for March was not attended by his usual satellites, the cold and blustering winds. It was in this month that the merit and beauty of Urling's patent lace became so universally appreciated. Ball dresses, caps, and trimmings of this beautiful material, were highly and justly estimated by the nobility and gentry. The waists of dresses were short, but the skirts remained of an untidy and disagreeable length. While the French ladies shortened their dresses as the English lengthened theirs; and the ball frocks and slips were really indecorous; yet for the ball room nothing can be so truly inelegant as a long petticoat, the display of a pretty foot and ankle seems there to be in a manner requisite to the well keeping of the whole sportive picture; for no lady dances well who has ponderous feet and ankles, by such we suppose, this fashion of long clothes, which takes up all the dust of the ball room, and dirt of the pavement, must first have been introduced. The charming finish to an evening dress, a beautiful bouquet of flowers, was introduced this month in Paris. The jewellery was paltry, consisting of glass beads in different colours, stained by a chemical process, and superstition was imposed on by rosaries and crosses made from the olive stones of Palestine; very often substituted by large cherry stones.

In *April*, the dresses at Almack's and other places of fashionable resort, were chiefly in the Spanish fashion; the bust and sleeves of the *corsages* for the ball room were slashed à l'*Espagnole*, and the slashes filled in with fine net or blond, and ornamental buttons of valuable pearls appeared to fasten the body of the dress. Flowers of every kind, and in every style and article of dress, became universal. Arcadia was the rallying point for the simple costume of the morning or for half dress; the English fair one quite à la *pastorale*, wore the shepherdess hat, encircled by a simple wreath of the little *field flower*, "Forget me not." Half opening roses, with the same tender flower,

adorned the cornette; but dress hats, superb turbans, and splendid tiaras of diamonds or pearls, formed the chief head dresses at the opera. In our ball dresses the eye was peculiarly gratified; they were much in the fancy style, the waist beautifully marked out, rather short than otherwise, and we hailed the sight of the well-turned ankle, modestly peeping from beneath the border of pearls and roses, that ornamented then the petticoat of decorous length. The hair was arranged *à la Sappho*; a fashion not likely to last, as it drags the knot of long tresses too far back from the summit of the head.

The Gallic belles seemed this month as if they had been bitten by a tarantula; nothing but dancing from one end of Paris to the other; every street, every alley had its ball room, where their dresses were correspondent to their circumstances. Ladies of fortune wore coloured crape over coloured satin, trimmed with crape roses, wheat-ears, and pearls; their head dresses were composed of gauze, pearls and flowers, most in season. Valuable oriental pearls now succeeded to the paltry jewellery of last month, and their waists and petticoats were now longer. The middling classes, and the *grisettes*, still wore their ball dresses very short, displaying their silk stockings with antique open clocks; many wore black dresses or gowns, trimmed with flowers made of coloured cambric.

The spring pelisses for the public promenade were very beautiful; they were of white *gros de Naples*, faced with straw colour or pink, a sash confining the waist, the same colour as the facings. The turbans were extremely heavy, exactly resembling those worn by our black cymbal players, and may be now seen every morning, on the parade in St. James's Park. We much admire the fashion in France, of ladies being always full dressed at a benefit play, or at a first appearance; it is a tribute due to talent, which we wish was more general, as we copy many of their fashionable follies, why not what is praiseworthy? The celebrated actor, Michot, had his benefit this month; the ladies were all superbly attired, scarce any without feathers.

In *May* the costly Zibeline fur, which from its rarity and expensiveness could not be general, ceased its partial appearance, with almost every other fur, except at times the snowy swansdown would meet the eye on a chilly day. The French standing up collar, which had so long been, and is still in favour, finished the tasteful spencer and the pelisse, which were now trimmed with braided satin instead of fur. The Norwich shawls, which boast so close a similarity to those of India, burst forth this month on the astonished sight, and enormous prices were first given for the wonderful imitation. It was Mary Stuart's turn now to set the fashions, the beautiful contemporary of Marguerite de Valois, at least the head dresses; it was the Mary Stuart cap, the Mary Stuart hat, the Mary Stuart bonnet, and even in full dress, the Mary Stuart bandeau of costly pearls, which we are assured she never wore; but it was shaped very much like the cap we see on her picture, coming down in a point on the forehead, and arching up on each side. Ugly *bandeaux*, in spite of their intrinsic value, for they really gave to the countenance a character like the head of a *cobra capello*. The fine cambric and richly embroidered muslin dress now made its appearance, and seemed the delightful harbinger of summer, while slight silks of spring colours gave life and variety to

female costume; Glowina pins of pear pearls, and bands of small pearls twisted, encircled, and ornamented the hair of young ladies in the evening party, while coral was the favourite necklace and bracelets worn at home. The crowns of undress caps, had been for three months preposterously high; they now sunk on a sudden to that becoming lowness which they retain at present. The dresses made a frightful exposure of the shoulders and back last month; but this month had the honour of commencing that modest and correct appearance of the neck and shoulders, so prevalent at the present day.

The French ladies are often rather contradictory in their worship of fashion, and this month, notwithstanding the warmth of the season, pelisses were universal, and their wintry dresses of black cachemire, with broad variegated borders of palm leaves, were yet retained. The manner of arranging the hair was frightful, though styled à *l'Eucharis*, but we think if the nymph twined her tresses round her head in that guise, she would not have charmed Telemachus: this mode consisted of large oblong ringlets, stiffly craped before they were curled, above which two plaits of hair were bound round, just above the ears, one of which was placed round the top of the head, and on the summit of this kind of coronet was placed a bunch of flowers forming a fan. The Parisian evening dresses had much retired elegance to recommend them.

In June there was scarcely any change worth recording; except in the head dresses, and they were various. Modern Livonia and ancient Rome were ransacked to furnish the British toilet, with a change; nor was Denmark forgotten, not for any thing of Danish origin, but because a princess of Denmark was hourly expected, and therefore spencers, robes, and head dresses, must bear her name. We should rather have imagined in this month, that we commemorated the glorious first of June, on the victory of Lord Howe, as our ladies were seen with *streamers flying*, and their caps placed very backward. An inelegant fashion, which was but of short duration. The dress dinner party dresses were very charming, of a light coloured silk, trimmed with blond and white silk *cordon*, the sleeves of fine net. The waist and skirt of proper and becoming length.

The French ladies wore mantles in the public walks, for the latter end of May was chilly. The new gauze, called water gauze, first made its appearance; and the *osier baleine*, for summer hats. While merino dresses, bound and finished with rose colour, were appropriate by their warmth to the chill temperature, and by their light hue to the season of the year. The waists and skirts of dresses were of a moderate length.

In July we found no change worth recording in *English* fashions. The French ladies changed their head dress à *l'Eucharis*, for one more becoming. The hair was now drest high on the summit of the crown, and the temples adorned with locks of hair, still they continued to friz these tresses before they curled them. The Gallo-greek, and the Moabitish turban were the principal head dresses. Very rich bracelets were worn, and rings on every finger.

In July the fashionable world began to crowd to the Parisian depot of superb bijouterie and flowers, in Regent Street. A splendid court was held at Carlton House, the latter end of June, and the talents of the *Marchandes de Modes*, and the jewellery productions of the former

mentioned repository, were called into requisition. Among the jewels was a splendid bird of paradise plume, surmounting a dress comb, made from nature, in various coloured gems. The court dresses consisted chiefly of silver lama and gauze, with ornaments of polished steel representing the Cambrian plume. For ball dresses the Hindoo wreath for the hair was this month introduced, it was formed of fine pearls and double Indian roses: the pearls dividing the hair in front *a la Madona*, fell in rich braids over the temples. The French fashions had no material change this month.

In the month of *August*, especially at its commencement, London remained crowded. The Persian, Grecian, and Oriental style of dress chiefly prevailed: like the Orientalists the British ladies wore in full dress the most splendid dresses of gold and silver gauze, and fine net embossed with the same costly material. Turbans of crescent gauze, or of gold moss gauze, confined their tresses, and white lace dresses, with a drapery of crescent gauze, formed a chaste and elegant evening costume. But the waists were again long, stiff, and enlarged, as if bound up in an ugly pair of stays, and the petticoats of a length that seemed to threaten the fair wearer with a fall every time she stepped, from the peril she appeared in of treading on a dress that looked as if it had been made for some taller female. In Paris, a very slovenly, loose, drawn frock, with most capacious sleeves, had been introduced called a *blouse*. Some of our priestesses of the toilet seemed emulous of copying this *deshabille*, with some slight alterations; but we never wish to see it on the symmetrical form of a British lady. This month was remarkable in Paris, except in the article of *blouses*, of a close copying of English fashions among the Parisian belles.

In *September* our beloved sovereign had departed for Scotland, to pay a visit to his northern subjects. Fashion, however, did not stagnate at home. The Mogul and Hindostan mode prevailed much in those articles, which were used in the fabrication of turbans and bonnets at the places of fashionable resort at a distance from London. The most charming dresses of the Scottish kind were forwarded to Edinburgh; the beautiful Scotch bonnet was revived, and gave captivation to the modesty of an English countenance, which it sweetly shaded. Athol tartan, prince Charles's tartan, the forty-second, and the Campbell, lent their brilliant colours to the gay assembly, while the Caledonian thistle and heath were seen adorning the head, and the St. Andrew's cross formed of coloured gems appropriate to those of the plaid, glittered on the bosoms of Britain's and Scotia's daughters.

But all this was only *pour le moment*; to speak of the progressive improvements in fashion, we are happy to say the waists became again shorter, and the petticoats discovered the ankle: the bust was decorously shielded from unhallowed gaze, and the walking dresses were at once smart and modest.

In Paris the *blouses* gained ground so much that they were worn as ball dresses, and by the principal female character in a drama. The hair was prettily and modestly arranged, and at balls in the country, small arcadian hats formed the favourite head dress.

In *October* we find but little alteration in the autumnal half dress or *deshabille*; but the ball dresses were superb. The waists and skirts of the dresses still retained the beautiful length which marked them in the last month.

At Paris the new silk called *nerine*, first made its appearance this month; it is fabricated at Lyons, and has much the appearance of shagreen silk. The vulgar looking *blouses* still continued the rage. The hair becomingly arranged *à la Ninon*. Three bracelets worn on each arm, and the fingers loaded with rings.

In November the pelisses began to assume a wintry appearance, and as now, to be fabricated of the fine cloth, called British cachemire; of this material the dresses began to be prepared which are now adopted. The beautiful elastic turban wreaths for the hair first made their appearance this month, as a ball head dress for young ladies. The carriage dresses were finished with a taste, elegance, and splendour, seldom before witnessed, and England now yields to no one in the attractive taste displayed in every appendage to the toilet. The waists still continue their delightful symmetry, and just proportion.

We congratulate the *Parisian* ladies on finding their long-cherished *blouses* declining in favour; but the tying of a scarf shawl round the waist as a sash is clumsy and ugly. Black pelisses and black dresses promise, as they began the year, to end it also: it is a convenient dress for the wearer; but is it equally so to the silk weaver? there are, however, some new invented materials this month, for hats and turbans, likely to meet with much encouragement, namely, Irish velvet, crystallized velvet, and Baltic moss. Square buckles, and pointed toed, long quartered shoes are prevalent.

And now December, dreary December, closes the year of 1822, wherein we find that our females are arrived to that standard of good taste in dress, that the alteration from one month to another have not been very material; nor have they, as in former times, out-stepped all bounds, by rapidly passing from one fashion to its opposite extreme. Now the warm velvet and cloth pelisse, trimmed with fur, shelters their fair forms from the piercing cold: and for the warm atmosphere of the ball room or crowded evening party, has been invented the cacique gauze, of the most rich and varied hue; which by adapting as turbans on their graceful heads, they may vie with the beauties who composed the court of Mexican monarchs, while the Montezuma plume waves magnificently over their brow, and the Mexican diadem encircles their glossy tresses.

The Parisian fashions have experienced no change since November, only that the hair is brought in curls very low over the forehead, and a few large curls fall on the neck behind.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE.

LETTERS RELATING TO MR. CHAMPOLLION'S DISCOVERIES IN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE.

Letter I. To William Hamilton, Esq. F.R.S., H.M. Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples.

Paris, 29th Sept. 1822.

My dear Sir,—I have found here, or rather recovered, Mr. Champollion, junior, who has been living for these ten years on the Inscription of Rosetta, and who has lately been making some steps in Egyptian literature, which really appear to be *gigantic*. It may be said

that he found the key in England which has opened the gate for him, and it is often observed that *c'est le premier pas qui coûte*; but if he did borrow an English key, the lock was so dreadfully rusty, that no common arm would have had strength enough to turn it; and in a path so beset with thorns, and so encumbered with rubbish, not the first step only, but every step, is painfully laborious; especially such as are retrograde; and such steps will sometimes be necessary: but it is better to make a few false steps than to stand quite still. If Mr. Champollion's latest conjectures become confirmed by collateral evidence, which I dare say you will not think impossible, he will have the merit of setting the chronology of the later Egyptian monuments entirely at rest. Beginning with the few hieroglyphics to which I had assigned a "phonetic" signification, he found reason to conclude that, in the days of the Greeks and Romans at least, a considerable number of different characters were employed for expressing hieroglyphically the letters composing a foreign proper name; the initial letter only of the Egyptian name of the object being denoted by the character; so that the names intended become a sort of acrosticks, or rather acrolexics; and the writing, instead of syllabic, as it may have been in older times, became strictly alphabetical, though somewhat vague in its orthography. Besides the names of Ptolemy and Berenice, which he reads as I have done, though with some slight alterations, and with several varieties of form; he makes out, with more or less latitude, those of Alexander, Arsinoë, Cleopatra, Caesar, Autocrator, Sebastus, Tiberius Nerva, Trajanus Germanicus Dacicus, and Antoninus; all these principally at Philæ: on the Pamphilian obelisk, which I had condemned as a Roman forgery, Domitianus and Vespasianus; and on the Barberinian, Adrian, and Sabina. The names on the zodiac of Denderah, with which the French astronomers still persist in amusing themselves, he reads, if I recollect rightly, Caesar Autocrator. If only one or two of these names should be well authenticated by the authority of a Greek inscription, the thing would be sufficiently established for every useful purpose: and at any rate, Champollion has displayed great ingenuity in the investigation. This morning only, he was showing me a particular form of the s, which I told him I thought was like a syrinx or a hand organ; he acknowledged the resemblance, and then observed that the Coptic word for a flute or pipe is *SEBI*, which agreed exactly with his system. The name of Cleopatra he gets from Bankes's obelisk of Philæ; and he has been so fortunate as to discover a collateral document of the highest importance, which gives him that name in the enchorial character. Casati, an Italian speculator, has lately brought over four or five manuscripts on papyrus, all Greek, except one, which is exactly in the character of the second inscription of Rosetta, and the introductory part of which exhibits a date with the names of the sovereigns and of the chief priests, in a form perfectly intelligible, abundantly corroborating the interpretation of the similar passages of the Rosetta stone. These manuscripts are already secured for the king's cabinet; and they are of so much the more value, as they lessen the impatience that one naturally feels to obtain a copy of the inscription of Menouf, which Drovetti keeps locked up at Leghorn; not without something like disgrace to himself and to the nation that he represents. I have been

told that a cast of it is in Paris, taken when the French were in Egypt; but the inscription is so much effaced, as to render any ordinary cast of no great value. Another observation, in which Champollion has had the advantage of me, is that of a broken obelisk from the collection of the Duc de Choiseul, exhibiting six or seven of the months, followed by numerical characters indicating the days; although he has not yet made out which are the months represented by the respective characters. He has also been so fortunate as to discover a mummy manuscript, in which some of the chapters are distinguished by numbers, inserted in the first line of each; they confirm and complete the series, which I had before collected, from various documents, in the enchorial character.

Of my own I have little or nothing very new to tell you, except that I satisfied myself the other day of what I had long suspected, that our antiquaries were totally mistaken in supposing the character L, denoting year, to be derived from the *λέκταβας* of Homer, and that it is in fact merely a variety of the hieroglyphical character I, which is the emblem generally employed in that sense: for I observed on a tablet, which has been let into the base of a statue in the gallery of the Louvre, the first column beginning with the date, "the twentieth year," of King Ptolemy, while another column has the same date, in the same form, as usual.

A. B. C. D.

Letter II. To William John Bankes, Esq.

Calais, 21st October, 1822.

My dear Sir,—I cannot more effectually lighten the heavy hours that I am compelled to pass in waiting for the winds and waves, than by employing them in giving you an account of the advantage that has already been derived, to the cause of Egyptian literature, from the study of the drawings of your great obelisk of Philae, combined most ingeniously, by Mr. Champollion, with the fortunate discovery of a manuscript, among the papyri of Casati, which was written exactly in the enchorial character of the stone of Rosetta. The preamble of this manuscript, which appears to be a deed of sale, or some other legal contract, contains, among the names and titles of the royal family, those of Cleopatra, frequently repeated; and, by setting out from the comparison of this name with the Cleopatra of your obelisk, Mr. Champollion has fully confirmed, and considerably extended, the system of "phonetic" hieroglyphics, which I had conjecturally proposed from the examination of those of Ptolemy and Berenice, though certainly the extension is so comprehensive, as to require some further collateral evidence, before it can be considered as fully established: and such evidence no person is more likely to possess than yourself, since, among the multitude of your Greek inscriptions, of the date of the Roman emperors, there must probably be some few, belonging to the same buildings at least, in which a variety of hieroglyphical names are found, which are interpreted by Mr. Champollion as belonging to the different Roman emperors, with the epithets *Autocrator Caesar*, or sometimes *Autocratol Cesar*: for the old Egyptians seem to have been as incapable as their school-fellows the Chinese of distinguishing the R from the L: and hence Mr. Champollion is in-

clined to believe the Thebaic dialect more ancient than the Memphitic, and to consider ASHILI as a more ancient form than OSHIRI. I know that you have looked in vain for any well marked coincidence of a Greek and a hieroglyphical name of a Roman emperor, although I believe you were persuaded of the very late date of many of the hieroglyphics in question; but it may be much easier to say yes or no to the truth of a single interpretation, than to decide exactly what the interpretation ought to be; and I hope very shortly to be able to show you such of the names of the emperors, as Mr. Champollion thinks he has made out: I observe, indeed, that some of them are such as I have already noted, from your drawings, as probably belonging to Roman emperors. It will be natural to look in the first place for that of Adrian on the very valuable and interesting little sarcophagus of "*Phutus*," which has been sent by Mr. Grey to the British Museum: in the cursory view which I was able to take of it, however, I saw no name that could have been so construed, though the goddess Buto, or *Bhuto*, appears as forming a part of the name of the deceased. The "*Arsinoe*" of the article EGYPT, according to Mr. Champollion, ought to be read *Autocrator*: I had satisfied myself that it was a name not older than the Ptolemies, and I thought I had reason to call it *Arsinoe*; and this name *was* annexed to the zodiac of Denderah, though the notable speculators, who have been so well rewarded by the laudable liberality of the French government, found it convenient to *saw off* this most important part of the stone, in order to make it portable: so true it is, that a copy, for the purposes of literature, may be incomparably better than an original transported. The same title appears in great pomp, on one of your tablets, as the object of the respect of a train of deities.

Mr. Champollion has had the kindness to favour me with a tracing of the enchorial papyrus of Casati, a document certainly far more valuable than the zodiac of Denderah; and though I am not at liberty to anticipate its publication, I shall venture to amuse myself with sending you a translation of such parts of it, as I can pick out without too much trouble.

(1.) SCRIPTUM HOC . . ANNO . XVI. ? REGUM PTOLEMAEI ET CLÉOPATRAE SVAE SORORIS, FILIORUM PTOLEMAEI ET CLEOPATRAE DEORUM

(2.) DEORUM . . BENEFICORUM; ET SACERDOTE ALEXANDRI ET DEORUM SERVATORUM, DEORUM FRATRUM . . . DEORUM AMANTIUM PATRIS, DEORUM BENEFICORUM, DEI EUPATORIS, ET

(3.) DEORUM AMANTIUM MATRIS EXISTENTE; ET ATHLOPHORO BERENICES BENEFICAE N. N. ET CANEPHORO ARSINOES AMANTIS FRATRIS, ET SACERDOTISSA

(4.) ARSINOES AMANTIS PATRIS EXISTENTE ? IN METROPOLI; ET IN PTOLEMAIDE ? SACERDOTIBUS PRINCIPIBUS ? PTOLEMAEI "SOTERIS" ET SACERDOTE REGIS PTOLEMAEI AMANTIS PATRIS

(5.) ET SACERDOTE PTOLEMAEI AMANTIS FRATRIS, ET SACERDOTE PTOLEMAEI BENEFICI, ET SACERDOTE PTOLEMAEI AMANTIS MATRIS SVAE, ET SACERDOTISSA REGINAE CLEOPATRAE, ET SACERDOTISSA

(6.) CLEOPATRAE FILIAE REGIS, ET SACERDOTISSA CLEOPATRAE MATRIS . . . INSIGNIUM, ET CANEPHORO ARSINOES AMANTIS FRATRIS EXISTENTE, IN TEMPLE

(7.) PRINCIPALI ? DEDIT [vel vendidit] . . α . . CHEPHIS ? ? PATRE ? ? MATRE ? CHENE ? ? . . SPONTE ? SECUNDUM ? LEGES . . IN TEMPLE

(8.) *Intimo*? .. concessit .. $\beta\alpha$.. argentum .. γ .. sacerdotes Apidis? in fano

(9.) Nebonenchus? .. quotannis?? in? custodiam? fluminis? .. Chasne? et liberis ejus ...

(10.) et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus Chasu? et liberis ejus hominibus ejus

(11.) β et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus ... annua? annona?? animalibus? et liberis ejus, hominibus ejus, in "*Intimo*" .. β .. α ..

(12.) .. γ .. sorores fratresque .. potestatem .. (notabiliter?) .. regis .. δ ("2391 ..")

(13.) vestes? .. homines ejus et .. δ .. ejus .. frater? et habitatio .. in argentum .. quotannis? ..

(14.) et .. et .. in .. ϵ MENSE .. γ

(15.) etiam? sacerdotes Apidis? in fano? "*Nebonenchus*". concessere? ejus hominibus potestatem? .. δ .. vestes

(16.) .. ejus .. frater?? et habitatio .. in argentum quotannis? .. ei ejus infantibus aurum omne descriptum argentum annonam? ...

(17.) .. Scriptum MENSIS Tybi?? xxx ... δ .. omne absolvit ..

(18.) sanxit?? et β .. et scripsit β .. fausta? rata? PONTIFICES? deorum Servatorum? et deorum Maternorum? et deorum Beneficorum N. N? deorum Amantium Patris, dei Illustris? Munifici? et deorum Amantium Matris: quod sit ratum?

(20.) Scripsit *Phanres*? sacerdos, pro se ... Scriba?

The Greek letters are merely intended to denote some similar assemblages of characters which occur more than once, and which may serve to illustrate the different modes of writing the same words.

Signatures, but apparently not autographs, written transversely.

(1.) Pontifex ...

(2.) Jurisconsultus?

(3.) filius? ...

(4.) ... filius? ..

(8.) Ego? "*Apollonius*." Champ.

(13.) *Arbasis* ..

(14.) *Phanul*? ...

(15.) "*Antimachus*; *Antigenes*." Ch.

(17.) *Anna*? et *Inha*??

(18.) *Alia*?

If we had not been previously acquainted with the valuable fragment published by Mr. Böckh, and lately reprinted, with some corrections, obtained from Casati's manuscripts, by Mr. Jomard, it would have been difficult to conjecture that the titles of all the hierarchy would have been inserted in a legal act without their names, the phrase $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\phi\alpha\iota$ being thought sufficient to imply a respect for the offices, although the writer might be ignorant of the individuals occupying them: a circumstance, however, not without analogy in modern times. Mr. Böckh's remarks on the apparent omission of the priests and priestesses, who ought to have followed the priest of Ptolemy Soter, are singularly confirmed by this manuscript.

Believe me, dear Sir, always very sincerely yours,

A. B. C. D.

P.S. By one of those singular coincidences, which only become credible when they have actually occurred, a Greek translation of this deed of sale has this day been placed in my hands by Mr. George Francis Grey. The whole of the preamble is omitted, but the eighth witness is a son of *Apollonius*, and the fifteenth is *Antimachus*, the son of *Antigenes*. The title begins, ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΣ.

London, 22 Nov. 1822.

Miscellaneous Notices.

From the Scientific Journals of London and Edinburgh.

We understand that Francis Maseres, Esq. Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, whose liberal exertions for the restoration of the older mathematical writers are so well known to the mathematical world, has nearly completed a collection of those which relate to optical science. Amongst the interesting treatises which are reprinted in this volume, are the *Optica promota* of James Gregory, containing the first publication of the reflecting telescope; the *Traité de la Lumière* of Huygens; and the *Sectiones Opticæ* of Dr. Barrow, a work which has become exceedingly scarce. This work is edited under the superintendence of C. Babbage, Esq. F.R.S. &c.

Royal Society, 1823.—Sir Humphry Davy proceeded to state the decision of the council on the award of the medal on Sir Godfrey Copley's donation, which he stated they had this year adjudged to the Rev. William Buckland, for his paper on the fossil bones and teeth found in a cave near Kirkdale in Yorkshire. In the beginning of his discourse, the learned president said that this was the first time a paper on a subject of pure geological research had been honoured with this distinction. He then entered into some general views of the progress of geology, which necessarily made but slow advances, till mineralogy, which furnished its alphabet, and chemistry and comparative anatomy its logic, had advanced to the scale of exact sciences. He said that by the zeal and accurate spirit of observation of our cotemporaries, more had been effected within the last twenty years than in the whole time preceding them. He mentioned generally some of the most successful labours in the field of research, amongst whom he said Professor Buckland was highly distinguished by his indefatigable ardour for inquiry, and by his caution and sagacity in drawing conclusions. Professor Buckland's former works had considerably contributed to elucidate and advance his favourite science; but in this paper, by his industry and happy talent for observation, an epoch was distinctly marked in the mineral history of the globe. The learned president then, for the purpose of illustrating the subject, gave a general view of the constitution of the known part of the surface of the globe; and stated, that though it had been suspected that the fossil remains of large animals of the hyæna, tiger,

elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus kind, found in our diluvian strata, had been the remains of animals who once inhabited the countries in which they were found; yet that this had never been *distinctly established* till Professor Buckland described the cave in Yorkshire, in which several generations of hyænas must have lived and died. He said that two theoretical views might be taken of the subject; one that the animals were of a peculiar species fitted to inhabit temperate or cold climates; and the other, which he thought the most probable, that the temperature of the globe had changed. He entered into some general views on this interesting subject, and its connexion with the period when the globe was in a chaotic state; with the periods of the successive creations of living beings and with the early revolutions of the system till it had attained that degree of stability which fitted it for the habitation of man, the last of created beings.

In presenting the medal to Mr. Buckland, Sir Humphry desired him to receive it as a tribute of respect from a body, which he believed to be very impartial in its decisions, and which considered the advances science had made, rather than the nation, school, or individual by which they were effected. He said he hoped his example would stimulate other members of the society to similar inquiries and labours; for that geology was abundant in objects for research, and most worthy of being pursued, on account of its connexion with the useful arts;—from the happy views it affords of the order of nature, and the assistance it lends to true religion; and from the sublime objects it presents for speculation in the great monuments of nature, marking the revolutions of the globe.

Survey of the Heavens.—The indefatigable Bessel has commenced an important work, which every lover of astronomy must wish to see followed up with success. It is a general survey of the heavens in zones: and the first part of the work is already in the press.

Canal Navigation.—The tread-wheel has been applied by M. Van Heythuysen to the propelling of barges on canals. The object is to obviate the use of horses. The apparatus is made light and separable from the barge, and it is found that two men can propel a barge by it, at the rate of five miles per hour. The saving of the expense of horses and track-roads promises to make this application of human power very valuable.

Result of the Experiments made by order of the Board of Longitude, for the Determination of the Velocity of Sound in the Atmosphere. Drawn up by M. Arago.—The observations were made by a commission, consisting of MM. Humboldt, Gay-Lussac, Bouvard, Prony, Mathieu, Arago, and Rieussec.

They have deduced from the mean of two days' experiments, on the report of cannons, measured as to their times of being heard, by excellent chronometers of M. Breguet, that at 10° C., the velocity of sound per second is 173.01 toises = 337.2 metres = 1106.32 English feet, estimating the length of the metre to be 39.37079 English inches, as determined by Captain Kater.

Frauds committed on Bankers' Checks, &c.—Considerable interest has lately attached to the means which may be adopted to render bankers' checks, &c., secure, from the discovery that in some cases the sum had been obliterated by chemical agents, and a larger sum inserted, and there are now two or more patents for paper, intended to prevent the possibility of such a fraud. These are founded on chemical properties, and do not appear to us to be sufficiently secure; but a mode of an entirely different kind has been suggested by Dr. Paris, which at once appears simple, perfect, and in every respect unobjectionable. It consists in a new mode of notation, which is accomplished by three or more rows of figures, in inverted order, thus: 987654321, arranged in the scroll of the check, and representing units, tens, hundreds, &c. The drawer of the check, in removing it from his book, has only to cut between the particular figures which represent the sum drawn, and in this manner an indelible and unalterable indication is afforded. The sum may be changed to a smaller sum, but this, obviously, cannot offer any objection.

9 8 7 6 | 5 4 3 2 1

Pay Mr. _____

9 8 7 6 5 | 4 3 2 1

Five hundred and forty-five

9 8 7 6 | 5 4 3 2 1

pounds.

Affinity of Glass for Water.—M. Gay-Lussac mentions that the affinity of glass for water is so great, that, after being dried, it abstracts from air part of its hygrometric water.

Literary Antiquities.—A letter has been received from Mr. Salt, dated at Cairo in August last, with the following curious information: A roll of Papyrus, measuring about eleven inches in length, and five in circumference, has been discovered in the island of Elephantina, and purchased for Mr. Banks. It is found to contain a portion of the latter part of the Iliad, very fairly written in large capitals, such as were in use during the time of the Ptolemies, and under the earlier Roman emperors. The lines are numbered, and there are Scholia in the margin. A copy is to be made from this valuable MS. at Cairo, that it may serve as a duplicate, in case of any accident in its voyage to England. The person who procured this treasure for Mr. B. is a young man, who has been in his employ for some years to explore such parts of the antiquities and geography of the east, as were left uncertain by Mr. B. himself.

Electro-Magnetic Effect of Lightning.—A violent thunder-storm occurred on the 22d of June last, at Toulouse, when the lightning passed by various metallic pipes through a house, and gave occasion to observe its strong powers of magnetization. Just under the roof, a part of the floor was completely destroyed by the lightning, and a piece of iron that had belonged to it had become so strongly magnetic, that it was able to lift a table-knife. Small iron tools were magnetized by the iron, but it lost its power in 36 hours. A tailor was sitting on a chair near the conductor through which the lightning passed; he felt no shock, but next day, on taking a case of needles from his pocket, he found them so strongly magnetized, that they hung six or seven

together. Another case, containing five needles, was lying on a chimney-piece 20 feet from the conductor; they also were magnetized. There were fourteen or fifteen persons in the house, none of whom felt the electricity. It may be presumed, therefore, that the whole went through the conductor. In the present state of electro-magnetic science, it is easy to understand the effect on the needles and neighbouring pieces of iron. The case resembles those quoted by Sir H. Davy, from the *Phil. Trans.*, and is an illustration of the process he recommends for the formation of powerful magnets by lightning-rods.

On the Employment of Potatoes in Steam-Engine and other Boilers, to prevent the calcareous Incrustations on their Bottoms and sides.—The practice of adding about 1 per cent. of potatoes to the bulk of water contained in a steam-engine boiler, which has been long practised in Great Britain, has been recently introduced into France, and merits the encomium which is bestowed on it by M. Payen, in a letter to the editor of the *Jour. de Phar.*, Oct. 1822. He assigns the true cause of the beneficial agency of the root. The potato dissolves in the boiling water, forming a somewhat viscid liquid, which envelops every particle of the precipitated calcareous salt, (usually selenite, sometimes carbonate of lime,) renders them slippery, so to speak, and prevents their mutual contact and cohesion. After a month's service, the boiler is emptied, and new potatoes added along with the charge of water.

About eight o'clock in the evening of June 12th, a brilliant meteor was seen from Angers and London, which continued some seconds; immediately after its disappearance a powerful detonation, succeeded by several smaller ones, was heard, and a fall of stones took place, one fragment weighing thirty ounces fell in a garden at Anger, upon a hard path, so that it penetrated not more than half an inch into the ground; it was taken up at the moment, and was not particularly warm.

A new Computer.—M. Rienssec, the King's watchmaker, at Paris, has presented the Academy with a Computer, which indicates the duration of several successive phenomena, without the necessity of looking at a dial, or listening to the strokes of a repeater. This piece of mechanism is about the size of a large pocket chronometer.—The dial moves round an axis, which passes through it and the Computer; and at each revolution a small window, placed by the side of the suspending ring, shows the number that indicates the minutes.—This instrument can retain its motion for three quarters of an hour; when intended to be used, the dial should be turned by the hand, till it marks the beginning of the observation.—A button is then pressed, which puts the machinery in motion. At the end of the observation, another button-knob is pressed, which moves a metallic pen, that traces, on the dial, a point, that fixes the precise moment the observation has ceased, and, at the same instant, the button is pressed that stops the movement of the whole machinery. This instrument is expected to be of very extensive use, provided it be well executed; and it may be confidently employed in every species of observation.